FROM SHADOWS TO REALITY

Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers

JEAN DANIÉLOU, S.J.

With a New Introduction By

MICHAEL HEINTZ, PH.D.

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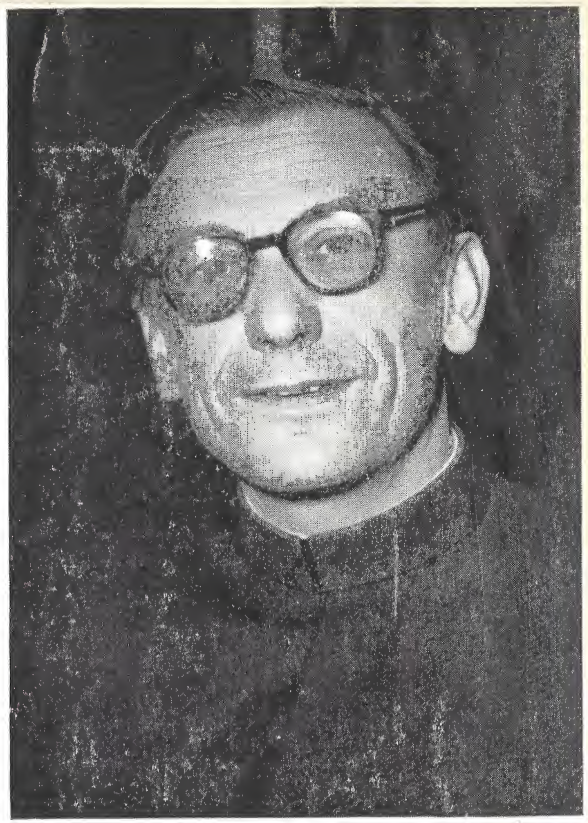

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Other books by Father Daniélou published in English include *Angels and the Missions, Advent, Salvation of the Nations, The Lord of History, The Bible and the Liturgy, Origen* and *The Presence of God*.

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Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers

by

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Professor at the Institut Catholique, Paris

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FOREWORD

Few things are more disconcerting for the modern man than the Scriptural commentaries of the Fathers of the Church. On the one hand there is a fullness, both theological and spiritual, which gives to them a richness unequalled elsewhere. But at the same time modern man feels a stranger to their outlook and they cut clean through his modes of thought. Hence the depreciation, so common, of Patristic exegesis, which in varying degrees is felt among so many of our contemporaries. We cannot help feeling that this suspicion is due to the fact that, in all the works of the Golden Age of the Fathers, we find side by side the most divergent interpretations, in which good and bad are inextricably mixed. The problem is how to find one's way in this new world. If Origen speaks of the "vast forest of the Scriptures", how much more true is this of the luxuriant growth of commentaries which have grown up round the Scriptures. True enough that attempts have been made to classify. The various senses of Scripture have been grouped together. But these attempts, for want of a scientific analysis, have often enough made matters worse, by introducing artificial categories.

The only means of throwing some light on the matter will thus be to start from the facts themselves and to write the history of the origins of Patristic exegesis. But it is still impossible to write this history. In the first place numerous detailed monographs would be required on the principal authors. Some of these are already available. The exegesis of Clement of Alexandria has been studied by Claude Mondésert; of Origen by Père de Lubac; of John Chrysostom by M. Lecomte; of Theodore of Mopsuestia by Mgr Devreesse, and of St Augustine by Maurice Pontet. These

studies are indispensable and of great value. But unfortunately they are isolated excursions into the exegesis of the Fathers and do not show its development. More especially, it is difficult to discern how much belongs to the traditional exegesis and how much to the writer's own point of view. Hence it seemed that monographs of another kind were necessary, in which could be studied not an author, but a theme and its gradual development. It is such studies as these which this book offers. It discusses the typological exegesis of certain themes of the Hexateuch from the second to the fourth centuries. For each of these themes it seemed that it was necessary to outline their early history in the Old and New Testaments and also in Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism. This will allow us to distinguish more clearly what in the Fathers belongs to ecclesiastical tradition and is strictly speaking typology, and what has its origin in extraneous sources, especially in the allegory of Philo.

We have not in the least pretended to make an exhaustive study of each of these themes, but have confined ourselves chiefly to the Latin and Greek writers, only occasionally considering the Syriac Patrology. While we have made a relatively complete study of the writers of the second and third centuries, since they are the most important for our purpose, we have been more selective in our study of the writers of the fourth century, and our enquiry ends with its close. We have made only passing excursions into the works of the great exegetes of the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth—St John Chrysostom, St Jerome, St Cyril of Alexandria. For it has been our purpose to establish links, in connection with certain themes, between the typological exegesis of the New Testament and the great Doctors of the fourth century, in order to see whether there was a continuity between the two approaches and on what lines it was worked out.

INTRODUCTION

BEFORE we begin our detailed study it will be useful to give a bird's-eye view of the typological literature of the second to the fourth centuries, so as to fit in the chief works which will be mentioned in this book. A first group is made up of controversial works against the Jews and the Gnostics.[1] Indeed it was these very dissensions concerning the Old Testament which led the Fathers to develop typology, which brought out, as against the Gnostics, the unity of the two Testaments, and the superiority of the New, against the Jews. Among the writings of the anti-Jewish polemic which are important for typology, we should mention the *Epistle* of the Pseudo-Barnabas and the *Dialogue with Trypho* of St Justin,[2] of the second century; the *Adversus Judaeos* of Tertullian, the *Testimonia ad Quirinum* of St Cyprian, the *Cibis Judaïcis* of Novatian, and a certain number of writings falsely attributed to St Cyprian, of which the chief is *De Montibus Sina et Sion*,[3] all of the third century: when we come to the fourth century we have several *Tractatus* of St Zeno of Verona, against the Jews, particularly that on circumcision (I, 13; P.L. XI, 345) and those on the Exodus (II, 52-69; P.L. XI, 510-522).[4] Nor should we overlook the Syrian writings, where the controversy was particularly keen. Two texts concern us here, the *Didascalia* of the Apostles and the *Demonstrations* of Aphraates (P.O., I).

[1] On the relations of typographical exegesis and the anti-Jewish controversy see M. Simon, *Verus Israël*, pp. 188-213.
[2] For the anti-Jewish controversy in these two works see Karl Thieme, *Kirche und Synagoge*, 1947.
[3] *C.S.E.L.*, III, 3, 104-119.
[4] For all these writings see B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredight Augustins*, pp. 9-58.

Typology also held an important place in the controversy against the Gnostics. The chief works are the *Adversus Haereses* of St Irenaeus, especially Books III to V, and the *Adversus Marcionem* of Tertullian.[1] These are two of the most important sources for our enquiry. Typology will also play a great part in the conflict with Manicheanism which adopted the Gnostic errors concerning the Old Testament. The *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* of St Augustine will here be very important. The Gnostics themselves interpreted the Old Testament as symbolical of the truths of the Pleroma. This Gnostic exegesis can be found especially in the epitomes in Book I of the *Adversus Haereses* of St Irenaeus, in *Excerpta ex Theodoto* of Clement of Alexandria,[2] and in the *Letter to Flora* of Ptolemy.[3]

A second class of works which are important for typology are the sacramental catechetical courses. One of the main points of these was to show how the types of the Old Testament have been fulfilled in the Sacraments. They always have a chapter on this subject. Thus the *De Baptismo* of Tertullian devotes Chapter VIII to the types of Baptism. The most important writings date from the fourth century, the Mystagogical Lectures of St Cyril of Jerusalem, the *De Mysteriis* and *De Sacramentis* of St Ambrose, the Mystagogical Catecheses, preserved in Syriac, of Theodore of Mopsuestia.[4] Baptismal typology has been studied by Lundberg.[5] Besides written sources, iconography should not be forgotten, especially paintings in the catacombs, which, as the Abbé Martimort has shown, are undoubtedly types of the Sacraments.[6]

The *Homilies* which were delivered on the occasion of

[1] For Marcion's attitude to the Old Testament, see E. C. Blackman, *Marcion and his influence*, 1948, pp. 110 seq.
[2] See the edition of F. M. Sagnard (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 22).
[3] See the edition of G. Quispel (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 24).
[4] English translation by Mingana in *Woodbrooke Studies*, VII. French translation by R. Tonneau and R. Devreesse, Vatican, 1949.
[5] *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne église*, Lund, 1942.
[6] "*L'iconographie des catacombes et la catéchèse antique*", *Rev. Archéol. Christ.*, 1949, pp. 1-10.

Feasts also come into the category of Liturgical writings. The earliest of these is undoubtedly the *Homily on Easter* by Melito of Sardis, a contemporary of St Irenaeus,[1] which was recently discovered. The Easter Homily which was published among the *Spuria* of St John Chrysostom (P.G. LIX, 735) has been shown by Fr. Charles Martin[2] to belong to Hippolytus of Rome and certainly contains elements of very early date. In the fourth century we have the short *Tractatus* of Zeno of Verona on the same theme (P.L. XI, 500-508) and on other liturgical feasts. The Cappadocian Fathers have left us Liturgical Homilies which are of primary importance for typology, particularly the Homilies of St Gregory of Nazianzus on Easter (P.G. XXXVI, 625-663) and on Pentecost (P.G. XXXVI, 427-452); also that of St Gregory of Nyssa on Christmas (P.G. XLVI, 1127-1150) and on the Epiphany (P.G. XLVI, 578-600).[3]

The liturgical writings give us the traditional typology of the Church; they form part of its elementary teaching. A more erudite typology is found in the writings addressed to the better educated Christians, in which are found elements of the allegorizings of Philo[4] and the anagogism of the Gnostics: these writings form the earliest spiritual treatises. Such are the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria[5] in the second century; the *Treatise on Prayer* of Origen in the third century; with the *Banquet of the XII Virgins* of Methodius of Philippi[6]: in the fourth century the *Gnostic Centuries* and the *Hiera* of Evagrius of Ponticus. The works of which we have hitherto been speaking, anti-Jewish

[1] "The Homily on the Passion", by Melito, Bishop of Sardis, edited by Campbell Bonner, *Studies and Documents*, London, 1940.
[2] "*Un περὶ τοῦ πάσχα de saint Hippolyte retrouvé*" in *Rech. Sc. Rel.*, XVI, pp. 148-165.
[3] For the typology of these last two texts see J. Daniélou, *Le mystère du culte dans les homélies liturgiques de Grégoire de Nysse*, Festgabe Casel, 1950.
[4] For Philos's influence see Heinisch, *Der Einfluss Philos auf die älteste christliche Exegese*, 1908, pp. 41 seq
[5] See Mondésert, *Essai sur Clément d'Alexandrie*, pp. 80-252.
[6] Methodius was Bishop of Olympus, then of Philippi. We refer to him by the latter name in this book.

Polemics, liturgical catechetical instructions, Gnostic initiations, are all based on the typological interpretation of the Old Testament, but they do not form consecutive commentaries on the text. It is only in the third century that the Christian didascalia began to provide a continuous commentary on the Scriptures, after the manner of the Rabbinical *midrashim* and the Philonian treatises, either through their Homilies or in academic instruction. Hippolytus of Rome appears to be the first author who composed works of this kind. We still have, in Greek, his *Commentary on Daniel* and the *Treatise on the Blessings of Jacob*.[1] His *Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles* exists only in Georgian, Armenian and Syriac translations.[2]

But incontestably the works of Origen are the most important for this period which concerns us. These comprise homilies, commentaries and scholia. Especially we shall make use of the *Homilies on Genesis, on Exodus,*[3] *on Leviticus, on Numbers, on Joshua,* the *Commentaries on St John, on St Matthew,* and *on St Luke.* In these we see Origen as a witness to the general typological tradition, such as we find in the liturgical and controversial writings; while he brings out all its richness, he is also influenced by the writings of Philo and the Gnostics, especially in his earlier works, such as Book III of the *De Principiis* and the *Commentary on St John.*[4]

There will be a considerable development of these commentaries on Scripture in the fourth century. The greater part of these works have perished and we possess only fragments in the Catena, from which partial reconstructions have been made. We can thus have but a very inadequate idea of the work of Didymus the Blind, of Diodore of Tarsus,

[1] The latter has been edited by C. Diobonoutis, *Texte und Untersuch.*, XXXVIII, 1 (1911).
[2] German trans. by Bonwetsch in the Berlin Corpus, *Hippolytus Werke*, I, pp. 343 seq. and in *Texte und Untersuch.*, XXIII, 2c (1902).
[3] See the translation in *Sources Chrétiennes* with H. de Lubac's introduction.
[4] I do not dwell on points here which I have developed in my book on Origen (Eng. trans. pp. 174-199).

of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Still, what survives allows us to follow the development of typological exegesis at that date. Of Eusebius of Caesarea we have fragments of a *Commentary on the Psalms, a Commentary on Isaiah,* and a *Treatise on the Paschal Festival.* The Catena have preserved fragments of the *Commentary on the Psalms of St Athanasius.* Of Didymus the Blind we have nothing more than fragments preserved in the Catena. But a *Commentary on Job* of his, and another on *Zechariah* have been discovered, which allow us to form a better judgement of his work.

Didymus is a representative of the School of Alexandria. Closely allied to this are the Cappadocians. As far as exegesis is concerned the most important works are those of St Gregory of Nyssa, though his works are very unequally preserved. The most important are *The Life of Moses,*[1] the *Commentaries on the Titles of the Psalms* and *on the Psalms,* the *Commentaries on Ecclesiasticus* and on the *Canticle of Canticles.*[2] Origen's influence is here quite obvious. Under the name of Asterius we have a series of *Homilies on the Psalms* (P.G. XL, 390-478), of great typological value. Hitherto these have been attributed to Asterius of Amase who belonged to the Cappadocian school, but M. Marcel Richard has shown that certain of these belong to Asterius the Sophist who belonged to the school of Antioch.[3]

The School of Antioch came on the scene comparatively late. The first important name is that of Diodore of Tarsus. Fr Mariès has recovered a part of his *Commentary on the Psalms.*[4] We possess no more than a few fragments of the work of Theodore of Mopsuestia. But Mgr Devreesse has

[1] I have pointed out the characteristics of his exegesis in my introduction to the translation in the *Sources Chrétiennes* edition.
[2] See *Platonisme et théologie mystique, Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de St. Grégoire de Nysse*, 1944, pp. 185-332.
[3] *Symb. Osloenses*, XXV, pp. 66 seq.
[4] *Études préliminaires à l'édition de Diodore de Tarse sur les Psaumes*, 1933; "Extraits du Commentaire de Diodore de Tarse sur les Psaumes", *Rech. Sc. Relig.*, 1919, pp. 79-101.

reconstructed his *Commentary on the Psalms*[1] from the Catena, as well as notable portions of his other works.[2] But there are few typological elements in these texts, since the Antiochene exegesis reduced this element to a minimum. The most important work from our point of view is that of St John Chrysostom, who was furthermore deeply rooted in the common tradition and furnishes a large number of typical interpretations.[3]

When we pass on to Western exegesis, it strikes us as being very dependent on Origen, with a strong emphasis on common tradition. The chief works here are first of all those of St Hilary, particularly the *Treatise on the Mysteries*,[4] a small epitome of the typology of the Hexateuch, of which we shall make great use. The remains of Gregory of Elvira were reconstructed several years ago and their real authorship has been vindicated by Dom Wilmart: in addition we now have the *Homily on the Ark of Noah*.[5] While continuing the spiritual tradition of Origen there is also the desire to see in the Old Testament types of the historical details of the life of Christ, such as we have already noticed in St Cyril of Jerusalem and Hippolytus of Rome.

But before we come to St Augustine and St Jerome, who are outside the terms of our enquiry and would each require a separate study, the most important name is that of St Ambrose. On the one hand he is a great witness to the general tradition, especially in his *Exposition of the Gospel according to St Luke* and in his *Enarrations on the Psalms*. But in the minor treatises on the Pentateuch, the *Hexaemeron*, the *De Paradiso*, the *De Noe et Arca*, the *De Isaac et anima*, side by side with traditional elements, there is

[1] *Le Commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes*, Cité du Vatican, 1939.
[2] See *Essai sur Theodore de Mopsueste*, Cité du Vatican 1948, pp. 53-93, which contains fragments on St John in an appendix, pp. 305-419.
[3] Lecomte, *Saint Jean Chrysostome, exégète syrien*, Thèse inédite, pp. 224-255.
[4] Translation (French) of J. P. Brisson, *Sources Chrétiennes*.
[5] *Rev. Bénéd.*, 1909, pp. 1-12.

evident a marked influence of Philo, and Ambrose even at times transcribes passages from him. In turn he will exercise a considerable influence on St Augustine and medieval exegesis. Such is, in its main outlines, the list of the most important works for typical exegesis from the Pseudo-Barnabas to St Augustine. It is obvious that this list can make no pretension to be complete. For that the whole of Patristic literature would have to be described, since typological exegesis runs through it all. The *De Trinitate* of Didymus contains many important passages for the typology of Baptism; the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* of St Basil has a remarkable passage on the Exodus. We are only concerned here to furnish certain indications which will enable the reader to place in perspective the works to which we shall refer in the course of this study.

BOOK I

ADAM AND PARADISE

I

ADAM AND CHRIST IN HOLY SCRIPTURE

In the liturgical and catechetical tradition of the early Church the Law is a text charged with mysteries, *sacramenta*, which figuratively reveal to us the whole plan of the Gospel and the future Kingdom. St Hilary epitomizes this when he writes in his *Tractatus Mysteriorum* that "Christ begets the Church, cleanses it, sanctifies it, calls it, chooses it, redeems it by true authentic prefigurations through the whole course of this world's history: in the sleep of Adam, in the flood of Noah, in the blessing of Melchisedech and the justification of Abraham. Everything which Christ would fulfil had then been prefigured since the beginning of the world"(I, 1). All the outstanding persons and leading events of Scripture are both stages and rough outlines to prepare and prefigure the mystery which is one day to be fulfilled in Christ. The first of these "sacraments", St Hilary tells us, is "the sleep of Adam". And if we connect this text with the preceding we understand how Adam's sleep is bound up with "birth" of the Church. We remember the passage of the Epistle to the Ephesians, where St Paul tells us that the union of man and woman is a "great mystery", concerning Christ and the Church (5. 32). Then it is that we perceive ourselves to be in a train of thought which begins in Scripture and continues down in the tradition of the Church. Our business is to try to decipher the theme of this figurative interpretation. This narration of Genesis has not failed to give rise to Jewish commentaries, both among those of Palestinian and Alexandrian tradition.

As we go along we shall come across these traditions, which sometimes mingle with those of the Church. The Adamic typology is particularly instructive here in showing us the opposition between the Pauline conception as developed in the Church and the Philonian or Gnostic allegory.

Before beginning our study of the Fathers which is the object of this work, we have to prepare the ground. Our starting point is provided by Scripture. For this prehistory we must begin with the Old Testament itself. All the work of the Prophets, which is of cardinal importance in the Old Testament, rests on a twofold movement. It recalls the great works of God in the past, but it recalls them only as a foundation for a faith in great works to come. It is at the same time both commemorative and prophetic. This has been brought out by A. G. Hebert and holds good for all the themes that we shall study, the Flood, the Exodus.[1] This double character is true in the first place of Paradise. There is no question of nostalgia for some remote ideal, as in the case of the Greek descriptions of a Golden Age. The past is only recalled as a foundation for future hope. As God had set man in Paradise so must Israel wait to be brought into a New Paradise. This is precisely the essence of typology, which is to show how past events are a figure of events to come. These events, recounted in themselves, are not particularly important. There is no striving to bring back again these past events. Such an idea we do find among the Rabbis who expected the return of Elias or of the tree of life, but this is outside the biblical perspective. We should no longer be in the realm of typology since the past and the future would be identical. That the question is not of return (*Wiederkehr*) but of a new creation, has been well shown by Goppelt.[2]

This is immediately obvious in the Prophets. Attention has often been drawn to the colouring they give to the

[1] Hebert, *The Authority of the Old Testament*, pp. 150 seq.
[2] *Typos*, p. 158.

Messianic epoch.[1] The curse laid upon the earth was the punishment for sin (Gen. 3: 17). The Messianic era will again see the earth yield its fruits in abundance (Osee 2:22; Amos 9:13; Ezech. 34:26). The first man had control over animals (Gen. 2:20) and in the Messianic era he will have such dominion again (Ezech. 34: 28). Further, there will be mutual harmony (Is. 11:6). The expulsion from Paradise resulted straightway in a feud between Cain and Abel, but in the Messianic age men will live once again in peace (Micheas 5:9; Ezech. 34:28; Is. 2:4). Goppelt stresses that it is the introduction of the idea of Paradise in these passages which gives them their typological import.[2] When Ezechiel describes the new Jerusalem in terms of a New Paradise we have perhaps the highlight of this paradisaical presentation: "and by the torrent on the banks thereof on both sides shall grow all trees that bear fruit: their leaf shall not fall off and their fruit shall not fail. Every month shall they bring forth firstfruits, because the waters thereof shall issue out of the sanctuary: and the fruits thereof shall be for food, and the leaves thereof for medicine" (Ezech. 47:12).

The non-canonical Jewish apocalypses continue to develop this prophetic typology. They describe the Messianic era in the same paradisaical terms as the prophets. Animals will be subject to man and at peace with each other (II Baruch 73:6). Men will no longer be at enmity (En. 52:8; Jub. 23:29). Women will give birth without pain, and this means that the curse upon woman is lifted (II Bar. 73:7). So also will they give birth very frequently (En. 10:17). Earth will yield its fruit in great measure (En. 10:18); above all the vine in profuse abundance (En. 10:19). This idea can be found in Irenaeus. Moore can even write: "The future is represented as a restoration of the state of paradise. The righteous will eat of the tree of life and be granted its blessing. No longer will there be pain and grief

[1] Gressmann, *Der Messias*, pp. 151 seq.
[2] *Typos*, p. 44.

(*Judaism*, II, p. 303).[1] The Apocalypse of St John will take up the last features which come from Enoch (25:6). Once more will the gates of Paradise be opened and the sword which drove Adam thence will be sheathed and man will eat of the tree of life (*Test. Lev.* XVIII, 10). It is to be noticed that in all these quotations we are dealing with Paradise, and not with Adam. Does that mean that the Old Testament and later Judaism had no idea of an Adamic typology? Did the Messianic King appear to them in the light of a new Adam? No definite answer can be given to this question since the exegesis of the Old Testament is still being pursued and since definite conclusions cannot yet be regarded as reached. At the same time it would appear that an affirmative answer would solve some of the most obscure passages of the prophetic and apocalyptic literature. We have just noticed how the Messianic passages of Isaiah describe future events as a new Paradise: universal prosperity and peace can hardly be related to ordinary historical circumstances but rather to the creation of a new universe. It would surely be astonishing if a merely earthly monarch were shown as inaugurating such a regime.

Now a careful study of the texts does show that certain characteristics appear which recall the first Adam. Gressmann has already drawn attention to this when he calls him "King of Paradise".[2] Aage Bentzen in a recent work continues the idea: "Even if it is not said explicitly that the Messianic King of Isaiah and Micheas is the First man, it however follows from the general idea of royal ideology."[3] The same idea is taken up and developed in an excellent article by A. Feuillet, who gives various examples. "At the creation Adam had been ordered to give names to the animals (Gen. 3:19). To give a name or change a name is a prominent feature of all the eschatological prophecies (Is. 1:26; 4:8, etc.). The Messianic Kingdom causes a moral

[1] See also Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums* (2nd edit.), pp. 240-282.
[2] *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdisch Eschatologie*, 1905, p. 286.
[3] *Messias, Moses redivivus, Menschensohn*, 1948, p. 38.

renewal of man and even a change among animals . . . such as marked the world when it came forth from the hands of God."[1] It is the prophecy of Is. 7:14-15 on the birth of the Messianic child which will be clarified: "the milk and honey" describe the happiness of Paradise (p. 191). "The choice between good and evil can be paralleled by the knowledge of good and evil" in Gen. 3. Emmanuel is "the new beginning of mankind, the antithesis of Adam the sinner" (p. 195). Then the mysterious passage on the Virgin, mother of Emmanuel, is much more intelligible if it is understood not as referring to any royal mother, but rather as if Emmanuel is a new first man, the posterity of the Woman promised in Gen. 3:15. It is then reasonable to infer that the "*Woman*, mother to come of the eschatological Saviour, had been honoured in the religious tradition of Israel" (p. 197).

It would appear then that for the Prophets the expected Messiah is a new Adam. Do we find anything similar in the apocalyptic literature? This question concerns the relation of the "Son of Man" of Daniel and Enoch with the first man. Father Vitti had earlier eliminated all relation between the Son of Man and the New Adam.[2] But A. Feuillet now admits that the eschatological Son of Man is thought of as the beginning and archetype of a new humanity," and that we find there "a true basis for the Pauline doctrine of Christ as the new Adam" (*art cit.*, p. 211). This is also the view of Aage Bentzen.[3]

It is particularly noticeable that the Son of Man of Daniel is represented as triumphant over the animals, which represent the idolatrous nations. This would certainly recall the first Adam and his dominion over the animal world. Psalm 8 is apparently the link between Genesis and Daniel, showing us, as it does, a son of man who should reign over creation and particularly the animal world. Nor should

[1] "Le Messianism du Livre d'Isaie", *Rech. Sc. Relig.*, avril 1949, pp. 186-188.
[2] "Christus—Adam", *Biblica*, 1926, pp. 121-145, 270-284, 384-401.
[3] *Messias, Moses redivivus, Menschensohn*, p. 39. See also Feuillet, *art. laud.*, p. 211.

we forget the development of the idea of the Son of Man in the non-canonical apocalyptic literature, specially in the Book of Enoch, with which the New Testament had well-known contacts.[1] The New Testament had then no need to devise a typology of Paradise and Adam. It was there already. The first Paradise was a type of the one which God had laid up for his people at the end of the world. The message of the New Testament is that the New Paradise *has* come with Jesus. The single text of the Gospel where the word Paradise is used bears this out most strikingly in the words of Jesus to the penitent thief: "To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise." The operative word is not Paradise and its possession, for the Jews had ardent hopes of this. It is *Hodie*. This *To-day* is the very essence of Christianity. We have already remarked that for the Bible Paradise does not mean the return of a Golden Age, as the pagan religions expected. Neither for Christianity, any more than for the Old Testament, is Paradise a future of an indeterminate nature. Paradise is upon us. It is a presence. St Gregory of Nyssa puts that very forcefully to the newly baptized: "Thou didst banish us from Paradise, and didst recall us; thou didst strip off the fig-tree leaves, an unseemly covering and put upon us a costly garment; . . . nor shall the flaming sword encircle Paradise around, and make the entrance inaccessible to those that draw near; but all is turned to joy for us that were the heirs of sin" (P.G. XLVI, 599A).[2]

The Lucan text is not the only one where the theme of Paradise, if not the actual word, occurs. For instance in one of the New Testament passages where Old Testament allusions are most pronounced, the story of the Temptation, it would appear that Jesus is put forward as the New Adam. The Temptation of Jesus is, as it were, a sequel to the Temptation of Adam. Satan, who appeared in the guise of a serpent in the first, now reveals himself quite openly. But it is especially in St Mark that Jesus is described as having the mastery over animals and being served by Angels after the temptation (Mark 1:13). We noticed above that the first aspect was one by which the Prophets indicated the paradisaical nature of the Messianic Age. By his victory over Satan Jesus restored the status which Adam had forfeited through his defeat. Authority over the animal world will continue in the literature of the Fathers of the Desert as a mark of the revival of the Paradise state in those transformed by the Holy Spirit.[1] Furthermore, if the Angelic ministration of Jesus does not exactly recall Genesis, at least it does the Jewish Midrash.[2] If, as we shall see, allusions to Exodus are more numerous in this text than those to Paradise, they are to be found there, as in the prophets—and give to the New Exodus a strongly eschatological character.

Still, explicit references to Adam are rare in the Gospels. On the other hand there is one figure which does stand out; that of the Son of Man. It cannot be denied, in spite of the difficulties recently put forward by J. T. Campbell,[3] that this title, so dear to Jesus, is an allusion to the Son of Man of the Apocalypses. This means that Christ is revealed as the true Adam who comes to restore Paradise. Goppelt has no hesitation in seeing here an Adamic typology.[4] It must be admitted, however, and here Campbell is right, that this allusion is obscure, otherwise the Jews would not have been so surprised when Jesus so described himself.

But it is with St Paul that the figure of Adam really comes into its own in typology. The most important text for our purpose is that in the Epistle to the Romans, when St Paul

[1] The theme of Adam as the figure of Christ is also "frequently found in the rabbinical haggada" (Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, p. 103).

[2] The text of II Cor. 12:4 has not been used as it is based on Jewish ideas of a pre-existent heaven (*Apocalypse of Moses*, 37:5; Charles, p. 151), and not with the prophetical conception of a Paradise to come.

[1] Stolz, *Doctrine of Spiritual Perfection* (Eng. trans.), p. 106.

[2] Goppelt, *Typos*, p. 118; *Vie d'Adam et Eve*, XLVIII, 4.

[3] "The Origin and Meaning of the Term Son of Man", *Journal of Theol. Stud.* 1947, p. 145.

[4] *Typos*, pp. 110 ff.

opposes the two Adams; one who failed and him who succeeded superabundantly. Adam is the type of him who is to come, τύπος μέλλοντος (Rom. 5:14). That affirms very definitely his "typological" character. But what is the essence of this representation? "If this one man's fault brought death on a whole multitude, all the more lavish was God's grace, shewn to a whole multitude, that free gift he made us in the grace brought by one man, Jesus Christ" (5:15). Adam's disobedience is opposed to the obedience of Jesus Christ. The parallelism is quite definite. In the first place God had called humanity in Adam to immortality. Adam's disobedience had wrecked this first initiative. God takes up again the task more surely in Jesus Christ. He is the Second Adam, who will lead man once again into the Paradise which he had lost.[1]

St Paul expresses the same idea in the First Epistle to the Corinthians: "a man brought us death, and a man should bring us resurrection from the dead; just as all have died with Adam, so with Christ all will be brought to life" (15:21). The contrast between the two Adams would appear then to be that of two modes of existence: the natural life, with all its human weaknesses, derived from Adam, called by St Paul "the flesh"—and human nature as quickened by divine power, by "the pneuma". The first we derive from Adam, the second from Jesus Christ. St Paul explains this in a figurative exegesis of another passage of Genesis. "If there is such a thing as a natural body, there must be a spiritual body too. Mankind begins with the Adam who became, as Scripture tells us, a living soul; it is fulfilled in the Adam who has become a life-giving spirit. It was not the principle of spiritual life that came first; natural life came first, then spiritual life; the man who came first came from earth, fashioned of dust; the man who came afterwards came from heaven, and his fashion is heavenly. The

[1] See J. Jeremias, "Der Ursprung der Typologie Adam-Christus", *Theolog. Wörterbuch zum N.T.*, I, pp. 142-143.

nature of that earth-born man is shared by his earthly sons, the nature of the heaven-born man by his heavenly sons; and it remains for us, who once bore the stamp of earth, to bear the stamp of heaven" (I Cor. 15:44-49).[1] St Paul goes to the very heart of this subject: Adam, because of his disobedience, passes on to us only our natural life; it is the second Adam who is the source of our spiritual existence. He finds the type of this in Genesis 2:7, where πνοή and ψυχή occur successively. Paul likens πνοή to πνεῦμα and, reversing the order, sees there a type of the two Adams.

But what is particularly important for us is that this interpretation is not limited to the person of Christ; it equally applies to the life of the Christian. This recapitulation of "the first Adam" which has been so fully accomplished by Christ is continued in each Christian. It begins in Baptism, which is thus revealed as a new creation and a return to Paradise. "Our former nature has been crucified with him, and the living power of our guilt annihilated, so that we are the slaves of guilt no longer" (Rom. 6:6). We meet here with a typology on two levels: on one Christ crucified is a representation of Adam in the garden: and in due course every Christian will reproduce this representation. The Old Testament gave us an eschatological typology, while the Gospel shows how all has been fulfilled in Christ: St Paul will show us its continued fulfilment in each Christian life. "Do not tell lies at one another's expense. You must be quit of the old self, and the habits that went with it; you must be clothed in the new self, that is being refitted all the time for closer knowledge" (Col. 3:9-10. See also Eph. 4:24).[2]

In the Epistle to the Ephesians the typology of Eve appears with that of Adam: "You who are husbands must shew love to your wives, as Christ shewed love to the Church when he gave himself up on its behalf. He would hallow

[1] Knox translation.
[2] Goppelt, *Typos*, p. 158

it, purify it by bathing it in the water to which his word gave life . . . That is why a man will leave his father and mother and will cling to his wife, and the two will become one flesh. Yes, those words are a high mystery, and I am applying them here to Christ and his Church" (Eph. 5:25-32).[1] The phrase "become one flesh" is an explicit reference to Gen. (2:24). The union of Adam and Eve represents that of Christ and the Church. The theme has already occurred in the Canticle of Canticles which represents the union of Yahweh and Israel in a paradisaical setting, under the symbolical form of the union of man and woman. St Paul reveals to us how this union is realized in Christ and the Church. We shall notice the connection of this theme with Baptism in our text. This Baptism is set before us as a nuptial bath.[2] The nuptials of Christ and his Church are thus fulfilled continually in Christian Baptism. Here we touch the origin of all the paradisaical typology of Baptism.

If the Pauline Epistles especially emphasize the Adamic typology, following the trend of Alexandrian Judaism, the Apocalypse of St John shows us the Paradise which the Prophets had foretold as realized in the Church. We are here in the broad stream of the Prophets and Apocalypses. St John takes up the very images and shows how they are fulfilled in the Church of Christ. The triumph of Christ over the "serpent of the primal age" (20:2) is seen as the fulfilment of Genesis. The Church is the new Eve "adorned for her husband" (21:2). The conditions of Paradise are once more introduced: "He will wipe away every tear from their eyes, and there will be no more death, or mourning, or cries of distress, no more sorrow; those old things have passed away" (21:4. See Enoch 25:6). The heavenly Jerusalem is described as a Paradise: "He shewed me, too,

[1] Goppelt thinks there is an allusion to Eve in Rom. 16:20, "So God, who is the author of peace, will crush Satan under your feet before long." The Christian community crushing the serpent under its feet would be the antitype of Eve yielding to his temptations. *Typos*, p. 157.

[2] Casel, "Le baptême comme bain nuptial", *Dieu vivant*. IV, pp. 43 seq.

a river, whose waters give life: it flows, clear as crystal, from the throne of God, from the throne of the Lamb. On either side of the river, midway along the city street, grows the tree that gives life, bearing its fruit twelvefold, one yield for each month. And the leaves of this tree bring health to all the nations" (22:1-2). The river of the water of Life is found earlier in Ezechiel's vision (Ezech. 47:1). So are the monthly crop of fruit and the healing properties of the leaves (47:12). The tree of life appears several times in the Apocalypse (11, 7; 22: 14-19) a book which, we notice, preserves an eschatological character in the line of the Old Testament, though this eschatology has an entirely Christian background.

II

BAPTISM AND PARADISE

In the preceding chapter we have found that there are two lines of typology in the New Testament. One continues the eschatological typology of Paradise, and we find this in the Gospels and in the Johannine Apocalypse. We later found an Adamic typology, principally worked out by St Paul. Both these trends are found in the Fathers of the Church. We will start with the typology of Paradise. We have seen already its great importance in Judaism. Ezechiel and Isaiah have presented the Messianic future in a paradisaical setting, while the Jewish Apocalypses have developed these descriptions. Bousset has noted how different are the descriptions they give of Paradise. Some locate it on earth, others in the third heaven.[1] While some descriptions are extremely material, others are more allegorical. We shall find descriptions just as different among Christian writers. Their originality does not lie in these descriptions, but rather in their affirmation that this Paradise, foretold as an event at the end of time, has now been realized in Jesus Christ: *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso.*

We ought, however, to notice within the Christian dispensation a current which carries on quite literally the Jewish prophetic and apocalyptic ideas in considering Paradise as an event of an entirely eschatological nature, which Christianity equally expects at the end of time. We shall first meet this tendency which is characterized by its belief in a Paradise to come on earth in Papias, the fifth Book of the *Adversus Haereses* of St Irenaeus, and Lactantius. It

[1] *Die Religion des Judentums*, 2nd, ed., p. 282.

is much the same as what we call millenarianism. It is connected with the presbyters, mentioned by St Irenaeus, who represent the milieu of the first Palestinian disciples, soaked in the atmosphere of the Apocalypses. We meet it in the Apocalypse of St John, and we shall continue to meet this very marked characteristic again in varying circumstances. In passing it may be said that here the patristic typology continues that of the Old Testament and Judaism.

We need only cite the witness of the fifth book of Irenaeus. The author first adduces the prophecies we have already mentioned, especially those of Isaiah, which describe the Messianic age in paradisaical language: harmony between animals who are subject to man's control (Is. 11:6 and 65:25). He then cites St John's Apocalypse (20:1). It is with this tradition that he most decidedly associates himself. "And nothing can be allegorized, but it is all true and firm and substantial" (*Adv. Haer.* V, 35, 2; P.G. VII, 1220 D). Again: "[These prophecies will be fulfilled] when the just shall reign, rising again from the dead; when also creation, being renewed and delivered, shall bring forth in plenty every kind of nourishment, by favour of the dew of Heaven, and of the richness of the earth: as the Presbyters who had seen John the Lord's disciple recalled how they had heard of him, how the Lord used to teach concerning those times, and say: The day shall come, wherein vines shall grow, having each ten thousand main branches: and upon every sprig ten thousand clusters, and in every cluster ten thousand grapes." (V, 33, 3; 1213 B-C.) We meet with descriptions similar to those of the Jewish Apocalypses. (En. 10:17; II Bar. 29:5.) But what specially concerns us is their explicit belief in the prophetical conception of the creation of a new Paradise at the end of the world. The idea which the prophets had was not of a return to the original Paradise of Adam, which had ever remained on the earth.[1] This idea

[1] As Dom Anselm Stolz holds in his admirable *Doctrine of Spiritual Perfection* (English trans.), pp. 17 seq.

of Paradise was well known to the Book of Enoch, but it certainly did not entertain the idea that it was to that Paradise that the righteous would return (32:5); and equally not into the Paradise of the third heaven, where the just abide after death (En. 70:3). Rather is it a complete renewal of the universe involving a new creation at the end of the world.

Later Christian tradition will abandon the millenarianism of Irenaeus with its materialistic approach. Yet it will not hesitate to envisage the life to come in terms of paradisiacal typology. Aphraates, in the fourth century, describes in these words in his *Demonstrations* the reward to follow the Judgement: "There will be no need to build dwellings, for they will live in light in the abode of the saints. They will have no need of food, for they will sit at His table and be fed by Him. The air is pleasant and clear, the light bright and sparkling. Beautiful trees are ever in fruit and their leaves never fall, but give out a very delicate fragrance, and sweetness that never fails. An inheritance is not divided, and no one says to another: This is mine. Instead of poverty, fullness and abundance. Old people do not die, nor the young grow old. There is no marriage or begetting of children, nor is man distinguished from woman, but all are children of God." (*Dem.* 22:12-13. P.S. I, 1016-1017.) All this is to be found in the life to come; yet we recognize the Apocalyptic descriptions of Paradise in the fruitfulness of the trees and the unfalling foliage.

But we still have not moved away from a strictly biblical typology: there is nothing specifically Christian. The essence of the Christian message is the *Hodie* of Paradise. In Christ, Paradise is henceforward in our midst. This is, as we shall see, the Patristic doctrine, based upon St Paul. And with this we meet a second stage in typology, not now eschatological, but Christological. This is the very hallmark of Christian typology, its basic and unique character. There is a Palestinian typology, eschatological in character:

a moralizing Philonian allegory. Christian typology is Christological. That man has, in Christ, entered Paradise is very definitely stated in the *Odes of Solomon*, which we may rightly hold to be a Christian collection of liturgical hymns, slightly tinged with gnosticism. "My lips were touched with clear water, coming straight from the Lord; I drank and was satiated with this living water which never harms. I forsook all the foolishness which possesses the earth, putting it all off and throwing it away from me. The Lord's garment renewed me, and I was clothed with his light. My nostrils enjoyed the pleasant fragrance of the Lord: and he carried me to his Paradise, where is the abundance of the Pleasure of the Lord. I worshipped the Lord on account of his glory, and I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in the land and those who have a place in thy Paradise . . . Glory be to thee, O God, the delight of Paradise for ever."[1] Again we find the theme of living water and trees. The Paradise where the soul tastes all those joys is the Church.

The Christian life, then, appears as the realization of Paradise. Christ is the tree of life (Ambrose, *de Isaac*, 5, 43) or the fountain of Paradise. (Ambrose, *de Paradiso*, 3, 272, 10). But this realization of Paradise is brought about in three different stages. Baptism is the entry into Paradise (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis*; P.G. XXXIII, 357A). Through the mystical life we enter more deeply into Paradise (Ambrose, *de Paradiso*, I, 1); finally the Martyrs are led into Paradise through their death (*Passio Perpet.* I; P.L. III, 28A). It is rather remarkable that we should find these three stages of Christian life described in terms of Paradise. It was a theme of elementary catechetical instruction that Baptism is an entry into Paradise. Very probably there is an allusion to it in running water, mentioned in the *Odes of Solomon* which we have just quoted. The antiquity of this representation is attested by liturgical texts. These include

[1] 11; *Rev. Bibl.*, 1910, p. 493.

the rivers of Paradise among the figures of Baptism.[1] In a passage dealing with Baptism Hippolytus holds it up definitely as the entry into the Paradise of the Church. "All those who love knowledge must learn how the Paradise, planted in Eden, is a prefiguring of reality. Eden is the name of the Paradise of delights, planted in the East, adorned with two trees, by which we understand the company of the Righteous and the Holy Place where the Church is established."[2]

This interpretation of Paradise, as a figure of the Church, crops up continuously in every tradition. It is found, after Hippolytus, in Methodius of Olympus (*Symp.* IX, 3; Bonwetsch, 117, 15). We find it again in St Cyril of Jerusalem's catechism. In a list of names given to Baptism, he gives that of "Paradise of delights" (P.G. XXXIII, 361A). In his *Procatechesis* he describes the blessings of Baptism with greater precision, and tells us that it opens once again the gates of Paradise, that is of the Church, "for everyone, both male and female, will the gates of Paradise be opened" (P.G. XXXIII, 357A). This point is developed even more in the *Mystagogical Catecheses*. "When you renounce all compact with Satan, all compact with hell, God's paradise is opened for you which he planted in the East and whence our first parent was driven forth because of his disobedience. This is figured in your turning from the West to the East which is the symbol of the sun" (XXXIII, 1073B). Here we have an instance of the connexion between praying towards the East—a primitive Christian custom, and particularly noticeable in the baptismal rites—and the theme of a Paradise set in the East (Gen. 2:8).[3]

St Gregory of Nyssa also uses the paradisaical typology of Baptism. "You are outside Paradise, Catechumen, as sharing in the exile of Adam our first parent. But now that the gate has been opened once more, enter in again" (XLVI, 418C). This text should be compared with another one in a sermon on the Baptism of Christ. "Thou didst banish us from Paradise, and didst recall us; thou didst strip off the fig leaves, an unseemly covering, and put upon us a costly garment. . . . No longer shall Adam be confounded when called by thee, nor hide himself, convicted by his conscience, cowering in the thicket of Paradise. Nor shall the flaming sword encircle Paradise around and make the entrance inaccessible to those that draw near; but all is turned to joy for us that were heirs of sin: Paradise, yea, heaven itself may be trodden by man" (XLVI, 600A). Several other paradisaical themes appear also: the garment of fig leaves, the fiery sword flashing in every direction. Add to these the waters of Paradise, figure of Baptism (XLVI, 420C). Gregory also speaks of the Paradise planted in the East: "Every day when we turn towards the East where God has planted his Paradise, and when we remember our exile from that blissful locality in the East, we have a right ourselves to enter once more" (P.G. XLIV, 1184C).[1]

This last text introduces us to other aspects of paradisaical typology. To be baptized is not sufficient: even if the person baptized is already in Paradise, he is only as it were on the outskirts and retains a nostalgia for it. It is through the mystical life that we enter more profoundly. We find again the Pauline idea of a Paradise into which we go through ecstasy (II Cor. 12:4). Dom Stolz has devoted a whole book to elucidate this text, showing that for the Fathers the mystical life was a return to Paradise.[2] I will quote only Gregory of Nyssa. He writes in the *Commentary on the Canticle*: "In the beginning, human nature was in full

[1] Lundberg, *La Typologie Baptismale dans l'Ancienne Église*, p. 26.
[2] See also Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* V, 10, 1: "Men who are advanced in faith and have received the Spirit of God, being planted in Paradise." Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, II, 4: "Man is translated from the world into Paradise here and now in the Church."
[3] See also Zeno of Verona 2:63; P.L., XI, 519.

[1] Representations of Paradise and its four rivers which are to be found in early baptisteries confirm this symbolism of Paradise. See L. de Bruyne, "*La décoration des baptistéres paléo-Chrétiens*", *Mélanges Mohlberg*, 1, pp. 199 seq.
[2] *Doctrine of Spiritual Perfection*, pp. 17 seq. (Eng. trans.).

flower, as it was in Paradise, moistened and fed by the waters from the Source which flowed round it and adorned not by fig leaves but by immortality. But the root has been dried up by the winter of disobedience. The flower has withered and fallen to the ground and man has been deprived of this glory of immortality. The tree of virtues dried up, the love of God grew cold because sin abounded. But when he came who revived spring in our souls and ordered the winds to die down, then calm and serenity returned and once again everything began to flourish. And our nature is adorned with the flowers of virtue" (XLIV, 872A). The spiritual life is thus represented as a return to Paradise. One of the features of this revival of the life of Paradise will be dominion over the brute creation, a dominion found so frequently among the Fathers of the Desert and also in St Francis. It is in fact the literal realization of one of the prophetic announcements. But the mystical life is only the anticipation of the life of Paradise. This will be experienced in its fullness only after death. We come back here to our last scriptural text. "To-day, thou shalt be with me in Paradise." As we have already remarked, the special characteristic of Christian typology is that the entry into Paradise is presented not as something kept for the last day, but as realized here and now in Christ. Rather should we say that the end of time is already present in Christ. We find this presentation of death as an entry into Paradise in the *Vision of Perpetua*. When she reached the top of the ladder, after crushing the serpent which barred the way, she sees "an enormous garden, and in the middle of it a man with white hair, sitting down and dressed as a shepherd, tall, and engaged in milking his flock. He raised his head and said to me, 'You have come through very well'" (P.L. III, 28A). It is undoubtedly the vision of Paradise that we have here. The immense garden occurs in Enoch. But it is here sighted not through the eyes of a Palestinian Jew, but of a converted African pagan. Both here and in the catacombs we find

this pastoral imagery, because the early Christians thought of Paradise in terms of the gardens which they knew, with Christ, attired as Orpheus, in the middle. But we are more concerned with the theme, which is that of the Biblical Paradise. Other examples could be given with this. The numerous texts which show us the early Christians asking to be turned to the East at the moment of their death all reveal this idea of an expectancy of a return to Paradise, which, as Genesis tells us, was planted in the East (*Vita Pachomii* 33; Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*; P.G. XLVI, 984B).[1] Such was certainly the symbolism of the gesture in the time of Gregory. But Erik Peterson has shown that earlier it was connected with the belief in the return of Christ from the East at the last day. "Oriens ex alto."[2] It was in fact the general belief that the martyrs and the just enter straightway into Paradise, which Christ had opened. This did not in any way militate against the eschatological belief as has sometimes been said, for it is not a question of a departure from the world to enter a heaven outside the sphere of time, it is the actual realization of eschatology, which is the sum of the Christian message.

[1] See Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, pp. 172 ff.
[2] "La croce e la preghiera verso l'Oriente", *Ephrem. Liturgic.*, LIX 1945, pp. 52 seq.

III

ADAM AND CHRIST IN ST IRENAEUS

THE Adamic typology, broadly enunciated by St Paul, finds its fullest development in St Irenaeus. He has expressed the rich complexity of the theme by the term *recapitulatio* (*ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*). We may remember that in St Paul the parallelism between Adam and Christ bore a twofold aspect: Christ both accomplishes and restores what had been done by Adam. This is the exact meaning of recapitulation. We are concerned with a new beginning (*κεφαλή*) which is a resumption of the first, while at the same time it both restores the broken harmony (here we have the idea of reparation for sin) and surpasses the original work (the aspect of accomplishment). The Adamic typology has then the special feature of offering at one and the same time difference and similarity. Irenaeus noted most carefully these two aspects. The similarities, which are the very basis of typology, are intended to bring into relief the unity of the divine plan, a fundamental theme of St Irenaeus in his contest with Gnosticism which considered the Gospel as having no relation with the past. Typology reveals analogies which are a unifying thread of all, bestowing as it were the signature of God on his work, and guaranteeing the authenticity of Scripture. The Adamic typology particularly has this twofold character. Later history is but part and parcel of the direct preparation for Christ. Adam, on the other hand, is in a sense the head of sinful humanity, yet this does not prevent this human nature having perpetually engraven on it the resemblance to Christ—and we know that the resemblance to Christ is in the Christian view of things always

an image of the future, a *τύπος μέλλοντος*, not a reflexion of some previous existence or one of a higher order. To come into touch with the future, to enter into the stream of history, such is the consequence of being the image of God. Irenaeus integrates into a theological scheme the scattered remarks of St Paul, attempting a further precision and systematization. We shall examine these two points in turn. We have already noticed that the Pauline concept was capable of a double development. Adam's relation with Christ could be considered in terms of the opposition between sinful man and justified man, or in terms of the development of the spiritual man from the natural man. In St Paul the two ideas go hand in hand, as in every orthodox thinker; but one or the other can be emphasized. St Irenaeus, whose main purpose is to uphold against the Gnostics the goodness of creation, strongly emphasizes the second aspect, that of progress. Typology, in fact, can only be expressed in a theology of this kind, for its basic principle is that there is an imperfect order which prepares for and prefigures an order of perfection. To think of the universe, as does Irenaeus, who considers it as an altogether unique plan, as composed of two successive stages, is the very essence of typology. Just because the plan is unique the two stages, while remaining distinct, will necessarily present resemblances, analogies, for this is what we mean by typology: it is here that we find in Irenaeus the bond between typology and theology. As we successively study the theological account and the typological interpretation of Adam, we follow the train of his thought and establish typology on its doctrinal basis.

We first notice in Irenaeus his emphasis on the unity of the divine plan. His thought in this matter is directly opposed to Gnosticism. For the Gnostic everything which precedes Christ—creation, man in his original state, the Jewish people, is the work of the God of this world, the demiurge. The Gospel is the revelation of another, a totally other God: a revelation which is totally unexpected

and abolishes all that is anterior. Such is the theory worked out by Marcion. Against this Irenaeus laid down as basic that it is the same God and the same Word of God who have been active throughout the whole course of history.

> Thus it was God who in the beginning created man because of his own bounty, chose the patriarchs for their own salvation, and singled out his first people, teaching them, stubborn as they were, to serve God; again he provided that there should be prophets on earth. He accustomed man to bear his Spirit, and to have communion with God: not as needing anyone himself, but as granting communion with him to those who need him. And to those who pleased him, he was an architect, designing the fabric of salvation: offered himself as a guide to those who were in Egyptian darkness, giving a law adapted to the needs of those who were wandering in the desert and a worthy inheritance to those who entered the promised land. For those who return to the Father he kills the fatted calf and bestows the best robe, and in many different ways he regulates the human race into a harmony of salvation. And the Word visited all of them and freely bestowed what was necessary on those who were submitted to him, thus writing a Law adapted to and suitable to every condition . . . through things of a secondary nature he called them to the higher: and through the temporal to the eternal (*Contr. Haer.*, IV, 14; P.G. VII, 1011A-1012A).

This important text, one from many, reveals to us how Irenaeus discussed the unity of the divine plan. It is the same gracious God, who, by his Word, strives from the beginning to obtain life for the creature whom he made to receive his gifts; this love however adapts itself to man's nature, taking him as he was originally made, making him gradually more fit to receive ever greater benefits: such is the educative conception of mankind which is so characteristic of Irenaeus. For example it was the work of the prophets to accustom man to "bear his spirit", that he may one day receive it in all its fullness. He it is—and Irenaeus is thinking of all the

major manifestations of the Word, the great "sacramenta" that we shall study in the following chapters—he it is who in the building of the ark, revealed to Noah, who pleased him greatly, the scheme of the mystery of salvation: we shall find this mystery of salvation prefigured by the ark in other passages where Irenaeus will speak of mysterious "mensurae arcae". He is the pillar of light to lead the retreating Israelites at the time of the crossing of the Red Sea; it is he who gives the Law in the desert on Mount Sinai. He leads Joshua into the promised land. And all these acts, which are the intervention of God for the salvation of his people are only preparatory to, and figurative of, what it is to be accomplished in the fullness of time: in truth, the ark of Noah, the crossing of the Red Sea, the Mosaic Law, and the entry into the promised land, are the four fundamental types of the Old Testament, of which the Gospel will be both the accomplishment and model.

And here we come to the second element in Irenaeus' thought: God's plan, though unified, is at the same time very diverse. How is this to be explained? It is just at this point that the Gnostics offer their solution, with their theory of different worlds and different gods. To deny the differences only leads to under-estimating the newness of the Gospel. Such a charge could be brought up against those, as for instance, the Pseudo-Barnabas and even St Justin, for whom all had already been given to the Patriarchs. "If everything has been foretold, wherein lies the newness?" But if the differences are accentuated, do we not destroy the unity of God's plan? Such was the dilemma into which Christian thought was driven. The limits of early thought did not provide any categories wherewith to resolve this problem. It was the genius of Irenaeus to open out new lines of approach. And this was under the aspect of progress.[1] If man has been created in a state of imperfection,

[1] See Prümm, "Göttliche Planung und Menschliche Entwickelung bei Irenaeus", *Scholastik*, 1938, pp. 206 seq.

it is not due to God's inability to create him perfect, nor to some catastrophe in a previous world, owing to some earlier sin: it is simply that it is of the very essence of created things to have a beginning, development and fulfilment. Such was the line of Irenaeus' answer to the major objection posed to Christianity in early times, the lateness of the Incarnation. But if a man say "How is this? Could not God render man perfect from the beginning?" let him know, that although unto God, who is for ever unchanging, in respect of himself all things are possible: yet the things that were made by him, in so far as that, coming afterwards, they have each its own beginning of existence, so far they must each fall short of him who made them; for the things just brought into being could not be uncreated, and so far as they are not uncreated they fall short of perfection.

> And in respect that they are younger, they are also childish, and in that same respect also unpractised, and unexercised in the perfect training. Although indeed the mother is able to provide solid food for her babe, the babe is as yet incapable of receiving nourishment which is yet too strong for it: so God also was indeed able himself to bestow on man perfection from the beginning, but man was incapable of receiving it, for he was a babe.
>
> For which cause also our Lord in the latest times came unto us, having summed up all things in himself; not as he could, but only so far as we were able to receive him. For he indeed could have come to us in his own incorruptible glory, but we as yet had no power to endure the greatness of his glory. And therefore to us, as to babes, Christ, the perfect Bread of the Father, communicates himself as milk: (for that kind of thing was his human Presence:) in order that we, nourished by his Flesh as by the breast, and accustomed, by this sort of milk diet, to eat and drink the Word of God, might be able to retain in ourselves the Bread of Immortality, which is the Spirit of the Father (IV, 38; P.G. VII, 1105A-1106A).

This text brings us right to the very heart of Irenaeus' doctrine. The divine plan, which has ordained that everything begins by being small and gradually growing is divided into two great stages, in each of which there will be growth: these divisions are first the creation of Adam, and secondly the coming of Christ. Irenaeus begins by describing the first. And his portrait of man's primitive state is especially outstanding. God created man as a child,[1] of which he only asks what it can bear, and what wise instruction will gradually enable it to accept further and further. Irenaeus describes this child-like human race for us: Adam and Eve were created as children (III, 22; 959A): their fault lay in negligence (IV, 40; 1114A). The chief culprit was the serpent, man's enemy, who wished to enslave him and has tricked him. Adam and Eve have been victimized rather than sinning freely. The redemption is a liberation rather than an expiation. And further they immediately repented (III, 23; 963A-B). The expulsion from Paradise and death are not punishments but means of salvation. "God has driven him from Paradise, not to deprive him of the tree of life, but in mercy, so that he should not abide in his sin and that this sin which tainted him should not be immortal and the evil endless and incurable. Death is thus an end of transgression and the dissolution of the flesh thus brings an end to sin" (III, 23; 964A). We meet these ideas in the Eastern Fathers, particularly St Athanasius and St Gregory of Nyssa.

One cannot but be struck by the great leniency of this theory, largely due to reaction against Gnostic pessimism. Irenaeus' insight explains it in large measure, where he saw that it was necessary for man to begin life as a feeble infant.

> God could have given perfection to man from the start; but this would have been too much for one but newly created. And this is why the Son of God, being perfect, has become an infant like man, not for his own sake, but for man's sake. According to the divine plan man has been created in the

[1] This idea comes from Theophilus of Antioch. See *à Autolycos*, II, 25: ed. Bardy (*Sources chrétiennes*), p. 161.

> image and likeness of God the uncreated, the Father approving and commanding, the Son performing and creating, the Spirit giving nourishment and growth, and man gradually advancing and coming to perfection. It was needful that man should first be brought into being, and being made should grow, and having grown should come to manhood, and after manhood should be multiplied and being multiplied should grow in strength, and after such growth should be glorified and being glorified should see his own Lord. Those then are every way unreasonable who, not waiting for the time of growth, charge God with the infirmity of their own nature. They neither know God nor themselves, insatiable and ungrateful. They are even unwilling to be what they are made, men capable of passions. But overstepping the law of mankind, already even before they are made, men want to be like unto God their Maker (IV, 38; 1107B-C).

The law of growth which applies to the history of humanity applies equally to each individual. Here Irenaeus is arguing against the Gnostics who consider nature as something evil, and endeavour to free themselves from it. For Irenaeus it is fundamentally good, if imperfect: "God made things temporal for man's sake, that ripening among them he might bear the fruit of immortality" (IV, 4; 983B). Man is by nature good and needs only to be developed. This optimistic view finds a place even for sin. God has allowed it "that man may learn by experience that it is evil and turn away from it" (IV, 39; 1109C). Thus he will understand his own wretchedness and God's greatness and will love God the more (III, 20; 943A). We shall come across this view again in Origen and Gregory of Nyssa.

When the education of the natural man, the first Adam, has been achieved, a task pursued through the whole of the Old Testament, and when he is capable of possessing God's Holy Spirit, then the second stage of human history begins, following the same lines as the first, but on a higher plane. It is to this second process that Irenaeus gives the name

recapitulatio.[1] St Paul had used this word (Eph. 1:10) to signify the reunion of all things in Christ in the fullness of time. In the hands of Irenaeus it receives a new depth. For him the word at first expresses the fact that Christ is the "*head*" (κεφαλή) of the new (ἀνά) creation:

> For the maker of the world is indeed the Word of God: and this is our Lord, who in the last times was made man, existing in this world: who invisibly contains all things that were made, and is established in the whole creation, as being God's Word, governing and disposing all things; and therefore into his own he came invisibly, and was made flesh and hung on a tree, that he might sum up all into himself. For it is he who hath power over all things, as being the Word of God, and true Man, with invisible things holding reasonable communion and establishing a Law in this world of sense, all and each to abide in its own order: while over all things visible and human he reigns openly (V, 18; 1174B).

Thus, the Word, who as God is already sovereign over all creation, acquires by the Incarnation a new relation to this creation. As in the first instance this was the creation according to the flesh of which Adam was the head; so with the coming of Christ in the flesh a new Kingdom is founded, a renewal of the old one, but one of which Christ is the head.

To this first sense, closely analogous to that of St Paul, others are added. To inaugurate this new Kingdom Christ has assumed to himself all humanity. This must be understood in two ways. We must first emphasize the truth of the Incarnation. Christ was truly man. Irenaeus insists on this point against the Gnostics.

> The Gnostics say that the Christ who was born and suffered is different from the Demiurge. They do not know that the Word of God, the only Son, who is ever present with the human race, united and mingled with his creatures and

[1] On this subject see Scharl, *Recapitulatio Mundi*, 1941.

made flesh according to the good pleasure of God—he is Jesus Christ, who suffered and rose again for us . . . there is therefore one God the Father as we have declared; and one Christ Jesus our Lord, coming throughout the Economy, and recapitulating all things up into himself. Among those "all" is Man also, the creature of God; therefore he is recapitulating man into himself. He, the Invisible made visible, and the Incomprehensible made comprehensible, and the Impassible made passible, and the Word, made Man, recapitulating all unto himself; that as in the things which are above the heavens, and spiritual and invisible, the Word of God holds the first place, so also among things visible and corporal he may have the primacy, taking the first place to himself; and that, assigning to himself the Headship of the Church, he may draw all things to himself in due season (III, 16; 925D-926A).

He must then recapitulate mankind in himself that the Kingdom of God may be established over all men. For this reason he must traverse all stages of human life. "For he came to save all by himself: all I mean who through him are newborn unto God: infants, and little ones, and boys, and youths, and elder men. Therefore he passes through every age, being first made an infant unto infants, to sanctify infants: among youth, a youth, becoming a pattern to youths: an adult with adults, in order to be a perfect Master in all things, not only in setting forth the truth, but in age also" (II, 22; 784A).

Christ has, then, by passing through them, sanctified every aspect of human existence. He has been a true man that man may be saved completely. But that is not all. He does not merely assume human nature in the abstract, but unites himself to all mankind as it actually is, by becoming the Head of all men, sinful as they are, from the very beginning, to make reparation and restore human nature in himself: "There shall be required all the righteous blood which is shed on the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel. Here

he signifies that there would be a gathering up of the blood to be saved: neither would the Lord have gathered up all this into himself, unless he himself also had been made flesh and blood, saving finally in himself that which had originally perished in Adam" (V, 14; 1161A-B). This recapitulation of sinful humanity began with Adam. Irenaeus reverts to this several times.

"It was necessary that the Lord, coming after the lost sheep, and gathering in one so vast an economy, and seeking the work of his own hands, should save that very man who had been made in his image and likeness, i.e. Adam" (III, 23; 960A-B). Understood thus, recapitulation means not so much the gathering to himself of human nature, but of every individual man: "for this cause Luke points out that the genealogy which extends from our Lord's birth until Adam, has 72 generations, conjoining the end to the beginning, and implying, that it is he who in himself gathered up all nations, dispersed as they were since Adam, and the race of men together with Adam himself. Whence also by Paul the same Adam is called *the figure of him who is to come*: as though the Word, who framed all things, had formed beforehand, with a view to himself, that Economy of Mankind which was to centre in the Son of God: God forming first of all the natural man, to the end that he might be saved by the spiritual" (III, 22; 958B).

Irenaeus himself leads us to the Pauline text which is the basis of his whole system. Now this text indicates two things. First, that Christ is the New Adam who brings back creation to its final perfection. The first creation had been only material, the second is spiritual. There is no idea of any return to primitive conditions. It is a matter of the beginning of the spiritual man, as Adam was the beginning of the animal man in the order of nature. But there are at the same time resemblances between these two beginnings. The first is the type (*τύπος*) of the second. Here we meet with a new meaning of the word *recapitulation*, which does not

merely include other meanings, but goes a step further, and it is this one which particularly interests us, for thereby the theology of recapitulation passes into typology which is one of its aspects. Between Adam and the attendant circumstances of his sin and all the concomitant incidents of the redemption there will be correspondence which bring out the fact that in the plan of Providence the second is the restoration, the *recapitulation* of the first. Let us recall some aspects in which Adam is presented as the figure of Christ. As we have said, these are to a certain extent made up of oppositions. As Adam's disobedience is the cause of our sinful state, so it is through Christ's obedience that we are redeemed. "If he had not been made flesh, and as flesh had not obeyed, his works would not have been true." So he had "to recapitulate the former creation" (III, 18, 6; 938B). This is in St Paul already, but one text adds a further thought. Adam, "who was first formed from virgin earth", is likened to Christ who was born of a Virgin mother. So we find a likeness between the birth of Adam and that of Jesus.

In fact this is so important in the eyes of Irenaeus that he returns to it again. "And as the first-formed Adam had his substance of the rude and yet virgin earth [for God had not yet rained and man had not yet tilled] and was moulded by the Hand of God, i.e. by his Word, for all things were made by him; and the Lord took clay from the earth, and moulded man: so when the Word himself, being of Mary who was yet a Virgin, was gathering into himself what relates to Adam, it was meet that he should receive a birth suitable to this gathering up of Adam" (III, 21; 955A). This brings us to the very heart of the problem: recapitulation is in truth the re-enaction by Christ of all that had been done by Adam, but on a higher level. Irenaeus continues: "And so, if the first Adam had a man for his father and was born of a man's seed, it were meet to say that the second Adam was also born of Joseph. But if the former was taken out of earth and God was his Framer, it was meet that he also, being summed up

as part of Adam—I mean the man framed by the Almighty —should have the same resemblance of birth with him. Why then did not God a second time not take dust, but wrought so that the birth should be of Mary? That it might not be a different formation, nor merely another being to be saved, but that he the very same, might be gathered in, thus preserving the similitude" (III, 21; 955B). All the features are here united: recapitulation demands resemblance—and yet there is a difference. It would seem to be that Jesus must belong to the stock of Adam so that, recapitulated in Jesus it may be saved by him.

As the birth of Adam prefigured that of Christ, so does his death. This may appear more strange to us. We must read Irenaeus' own words: "In the same day accordingly they died, in which also they did eat [the forbidden fruit], and became liable to the debt of death; because the day of the creature is one. And in the same day they did eat, and in the same day also they died. But according to the round and course of the days, according to which one is called first, another second, another third; if anyone will diligently learn, he will find by the Lord's Economy on what day of the seven days Adam died. For in gathering up the whole of man in himself from the beginning to the end, he gathered also his death. It is plain then that the Lord, in obedience to the Father, endured death on the same day in which Adam died, disobeying God. This day accordingly our Lord would go over again with the rest in his own person, and so came to his Passion on the day before the Sabbath, which is the sixth day of creation, on which man was formed: by his Passion conferring on man a second formation, that which is out of death" (V, 23; 1185B-C). A twofold theme runs through this passage. On the one hand the death of Christ corresponds to the death of Adam, because the sixth day on which Christ died is the type of the sixth day on which creation was completed, since it is as it were a single day, and this shows very clearly that Christ recapitulates creation

and Adam, who is its symbol. We can go further and even deduce from the correspondence between Adam and Christ that Adam must have died on a Friday because Christ was going to die on a Friday. This last step would seem more daring. It is of great interest to see how far Irenaeus will go in this parallelism between the two Adams.

This correspondence between the details of the story of Paradise and those of the drama of Calvary is pushed even further by later Christian writers. St Cyril of Jerusalem may be taken as an example:

> Adam received the doom: "Cursed is the earth in thy work: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee." For this cause Jesus assumes the thorns, that he might cancel the doom; for this cause also was he buried in the earth, that the cursed earth might receive, instead of the curse, the blessing. At the time of the sin, they clothed themselves with fig leaves: for this cause also Jesus made the fig-tree the last of his signs. . . . And having touched on things connected with Paradise I am indeed astonished at the truth of the types. In paradise was the fall, and in a Garden was our salvation. From the Tree came sin, and until the Tree sin lasted; in the evening they sought to hide themselves from the eyes of the Lord and in the evening the robber is brought by the Lord into Paradise. . . . The woman who was formed from the side, led the way to sin; but Jesus who came to bestow the grace of pardon on men and women alike, was pierced in the side for woman, that he might undo the sin (P.G. XXXIII, 796A-B; 800B).

We cannot help noticing the care taken in drawing the parallel between the *material* details of the garden scene and the details of Calvary: the crown of thorns corresponds to the thorns of Gen. 3:18; the fig tree cursed by Jesus to the aprons of fig leaves. This, which has already appeared in St Irenaeus, is very marked in St Cyril, and would appear to be due to his local background. It was only natural that a far greater interest in the external details of Christ's life should

hold at Jerusalem. Both the exegesis and liturgy of Jerusalem bear witness to this.[1] Still these exaggerations ought not to make us forget the theological signification of the correspondence between the two Adams. It is Irenaeus' great merit to have drawn out the special significance of this.

Hitherto we have not touched upon one aspect of recapitulation, viz., the parallelism between Eve and Mary. It appears before Irenaeus in St Justin: "We understand that he is born of the Virgin, in order that the disobedience caused by the serpent might be destroyed in the same manner in which it had originated. For Eve, an undefiled virgin, conceived the word of the serpent and brought forth disobedience. But the Virgin Mary was filled with faith and joy, when the Angel Gabriel announced to her the good tidings" (*Dialog.*, L, 45). This passage is interesting inasmuch as it shows us that the parallelism between Eve and Mary is earlier than Irenaeus, and indeed goes back to the earliest Christian tradition. Still it remains true that its development is due to Irenaeus who included it in his general scheme of recapitulation. We see this very clearly in the following passage:

> Thus gathering all into one, he was himself gathered into one, stirring up war against our enemy and crushing him, who at first had led us captive in Adam, as we read in Genesis that God said to the serpent, "I will put an enmity between thee and the woman". The prophets foretold that the serpent's head would be bruised by him who was to be born of a Virgin. . . . Indeed the enemy would not have been fairly overcome had not his conqueror been born of a woman, for by a woman he ruled over mankind from the beginning, when he set himself against mankind. For this cause the Lord also professes himself the Son of Man, gathering up into himself that original man of whom the formation of the woman took place. But the Lord would not have gathered into himself that old and original enmity against the serpent,

[1] Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, p. 167.

> fulfilling the promise of the creator, and accomplishing his command, had he come of another Father (V, 21; 1179A-B).

We shall meet again, in dealing with the subject of the Victory over Satan, with a theme already mentioned, the virgin birth, vital to the perfect correspondence between Adam and Christ. The Word is himself the creator of the humanity he will take from Mary, for it owes nothing to any other father.

St Irenaeus stresses the parallelism between Eve and Mary in another passage:

> The Virgin Mary is found obedient; when she said, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it done unto me according to thy word." But Eve is found disobedient; for she did not obey, being yet a virgin . . . as Eve proving disobedient became the cause of death both to herself and to all mankind: so also Mary having a husband fore-appointed, and nevertheless a virgin, being obedient, became to herself and all mankind the cause of salvation. Therefore the Law calls her who was espoused to a man, though still a virgin, the wife of him who had espoused her, pointing to the unwinding which should come round from Mary to Eve; since in no other way can that which is knotted be undone, but by bending the loops of the knot in reverse order: that the first tie may be undone by the second and the second again disengage the first (III, 22; 959A-B).

In other words the recapitulation must retrace its steps over the course of the first creation to restore and elevate it; otherwise, if this resemblance is not clearly indicated, the recapitulation would not be genuine, the same things would not have been recapitulated; that is, the serpent conquered, Adam saved, and the Virgin a means of salvation. Typology here is the mouthpiece of theology: the dogma of Christ as the new Adam, and of Mary's mediation rests on the typological signification of the Genesis account. To dispute this typology would be to go against the whole of ecclesiastical

tradition, which has incorporated the views of Irenaeus, which are indeed but the echo of the very earliest tradition.

St Irenaeus epitomizes all this teaching in the *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*:

> Because in the original formation of Adam all of us were tied and bound up with death through disobedience, it was right that through the obedience of him who was made man for us we should be released from death: and because death reigned over the flesh, it was right that through the flesh it should lose its force and let man go free from his oppression. . . . And therefore our Lord took a body like that of our first parent, and conquered by Adam that which by Adam had stricken us down. Whence is the substance of the first-formed man? From the Will and Wisdom of God, and from the virgin earth.[1] So the Lord summing up afresh this man, took the same dispensation of entry into flesh, being born from the Virgin by the Will and the Wisdom of God. . . . And just as, through a disobedient virgin, man was stricken down and fell into death, so through the Virgin who was obedient to the Word of God was man reanimated and received life. It was right that Eve should be summed up in Mary, that a Virgin should be a virgin's intercessor, and by a Virgin's obedience undo and put away the disobedience of a virgin. . . . And the trespass which came by the tree was undone by the tree of obedience, when, hearkening unto God, the Son of Man was nailed to the tree. . . . And seeing that he is the Word of God Almighty, whose invisible presence shed in us and over the entire world, he still continues his influence in the world, in all its length, height and depth (31-33).

We notice the parallelism between the tree of life and the wood of the cross which does not appear in the *Adversus Haereses.*

Henceforth this Adamic typology, enriched in various

[1] The theme of the virgin earth is perhaps derived from the old idea of the mother earth, found particularly in the mystery cults. See J. C. Plumpe. *Mater Ecclesia*, pp. 10-11.

details, becomes part of the common tradition. Tertullian, who follows tradition closely, mentions, soon after Irenaeus, Christ as being born of the Virgin, as Adam was of virgin earth.

> Why had Christ to be born of a virgin? Since he came to give us a new life it was fitting that he himself should be born in a new manner. But this newness, as always, is prefigured in the Old Testament, the Lord's birth of a Virgin being of a fore-ordained plan. The soil was still virgin, neither yet harrowed by the labourer, nor sown by the sower when the Lord formed from it a living soul. Therefore since tradition teaches that the first Adam is of the earth, then the last Adam (*novissimus—ἔσχατος*) must, as the Apostle says, be formed from the earth, to be a life-giving spirit. And further (for we must not let this allusion to Adam slip by), why is Christ called Adam by the Apostle if his human nature has no earthly origin? But the divine plan shows that God has restored his image and likeness, held captive by the devil, by an inverse operation. The death-bringing word was heard by Eve when she was still a virgin: the Word of God when he came to revive man must be born of a virgin, so that the same sex which brought in death may now introduce life. Eve believed the word of the serpent, Mary the word of Gabriel (*De Carne Christi*, 17; P.L. II, 782B).

In the fourth century the tradition of Tertullian and Irenaeus is carried on by St Ambrose. "Adam is born of the virgin earth, Christ is born of a Virgin. The former was made in the image of God, the latter *is* the image of God. The first was set over irrational animals, the second over all living beings. By a woman came foolishness, and by a Virgin true Wisdom. A tree brought death, life comes from the Cross. While one is deprived of his spiritual endowments and is clothed with leaves, the other, deprived of earthly goods, does not regret being clothed with a body. Adam is in the desert, Christ is likewise in the desert" (*Exp.. Luc.*, IV, 7; C.S.E.L., XXXII, 4, p. 142). St Ambrose

is indeed only a witness to a theme already stereotyped. His own exegesis has a trend to allegory rather than to dogmatic typology. We have a curious example of this in the same Work. In Chapter LXVI of the same fourth book Ambrose compares Adam and Eve to spirit and flesh after the manner of Philo. But he is well aware that this is contrary to tradition. "No doubt some one will think that it is not proper to see in Adam and Eve the type of the soul and body, seeing that they are considered as the types of Christ and the Church" (p. 172). This clearly indicates the opposition between the traditional typology and the allegory which the saint uses in his own exegesis.[1]

[1] The tradition which sees in Eve a figure of Mary Magdalene should not pass unnoticed. It is found in Hippolytus (*Com. Cant.*, Bonwetsch, p. 352). Also in Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Eun.*, XII, P.G. XLV, 892 A,B), and in Ambrose (*de Isaac*, V, 43, C.S.E.L., 667; *Exp. Luc.*, X, 156; C.S.E.L., XXXII, 514).

IV

THE SLEEP OF ADAM AND THE BIRTH OF THE CHURCH

We have seen how the two themes which have their origin in the New Testament, of Paradise and of Adam, develop along parallel lines, the first with a sacramental, the second with a Christological emphasis. These two currents converge into a central idea, that of the sleep of Adam, that is, the mystery of the Church born from the pierced side of Christ by the sacraments of water and of blood, as Eve was born from the side of Adam. In the list of the great "sacraments" of the Old Testament which opens the *Treatise on the Mysteries*, it is his "sleep" which Hilary singles out as the special mystery of Adam, as the flood is that of Noah and his sacrifice that of Isaac. He writes: "There is in Adam's sleep a hidden mystery" (I, 5). Strictly speaking it is no absolutely new theme that we are going to touch upon here. There is in the New Testament a passage where the Adamic theme is put in a sacramental setting: it is the great "mysterium" of the Epistle to the Ephesians, wherein St Paul describes Christ, the new Adam, washing the Church in the waters of Baptism that it may appear before him an immaculate bride. It is on the development of this "mystery" that we must concentrate.

Tertullian is the first to present it. "Adam has foretold this great sacrament in relation to Christ and the Church: *Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis*" (*De Anima*, 11; P.L. II, 665A). But it is not only what Adam says but Adam himself who prefigures the birth of the Church. And it is here that we find the origin of this *somnus Adae* which Hilary sees as one

of the great sacraments of the Old Testament: *In somno Adae Christus generat Ecclesiam.* And Tertullian: "If Adam was a type of Christ, Adam's sleep was [a type] of the death of Christ who had slept in death. Eve coming from Adam's side is a type of the Church, the true mother of all living" (*De Anima*, 43; P.L. 723B).[1] The Church was born from the side of the sleeping Adam. *Logos* and *typos* coincide. Adam foretold and prefigured at the same time both the mystery of Christ and the Church. We particularly notice how the Church is presented as the true "mother of all living".[2] She appears as the New Eve, who gives birth to those who are reborn. This is a theme which appears frequently in the early Church.[3] More especially, Baptism is shown as the Church giving birth to a Christian in the waters of Baptism.[4]

The second author whom we meet is Methodius of Philippi. In the *Banquet of the XII Virgins*, he devotes a long passage to Adamic typology. He asks how sinful Adam can be considered by St Paul as a figure of Christ (III, 3; Bonwetsch, 29, 18). He shows how God began a first "moulding" of humanity in Adam, but because the water of sin became mixed up therein, he began again in Christ, this time mixing human nature and the Logos. Jesus is, then, a "recapitulation" of Adam in the sense of Irenaeus (III, 5; 31, 10 seq.). Methodius takes up certain themes of Irenaeus, particularly that of Adam born of virgin earth as a figure of the Virgin birth of Jesus (III, 5; 31, 20 seq.). Methodius repeats the Pauline teaching that all those who died in Adam are brought to life in Christ (III, 6; 33, 15). Then he passes on to the theme of this chapter. "We must thus understand what Paul says of the Church, born from

[1] See the other passages indicated by Waszink in his edition of *De Anima*, p. 469.
[2] See Joseph C. Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia*, p. 57.
[3] See also Pseudo-Cyprian, *De montibus sina et sion*, 9 (C.S.E.L., III, 3, p. 115).
[4] Dölger in *Ant. und Christ.*, II, p. 134, does not question the baptismal significance of the passage.

the bone and side of Adam. For this reason did the Word leave his Father, who is in the heavens, to come down and unite himself to a bride" and slept in the ecstasy of his Passion, freely dying for her "that he might present this Church to himself, glorious and immaculate, after being purified in the water of baptism" (Eph. 5:23-27), ready to receive the spiritual seed which he himself sows and plants, implanting it in the depths of the mind, which the Church receives and forms, as is the manner of women, that she may give birth to and nourish virtue."

Methodius gives this theme an ascetical trend, but we are particularly concerned with the appearance of Adam's sleep as a figure of the Passion. Methodius applies this to the unceasing growth of holiness in the Church in a remarkable text: "In this way, too, is the command 'Increase and multiply' fulfilled, the Church growing daily in stature, beauty and number by the union and communion of the Word coming down to our souls even now and continuing his 'ecstasy' by the memorial of his Passion" (III, 8; 35, 13). This is a most important text for the theology of the Eucharist: it shows it as "making present" Christ's Passion, introducing us to its profound signification. "The Church could not conceive and give birth to believers by the regenerating waters of Baptism if Christ had not emptied himself (*κενώσας*) of them, so that he might be received by them through the recapitulation (*ανακεφαλαίωσις*) of his Passion, should die again, and, coming down from heaven and being joined to his Wife, the Church, should provide for a certain power being taken from his own side by which all those who have been built up into him, and have been reborn in the waters of Baptism, may draw their increase from his bones and his flesh" (III, 8; 35-36). The sacramental fullness of this passage does not need to be emphasized. The Eucharist presented as a permanent and sacramental presence of the sleep of Adam, that is of the Passion of Christ, a mysterious presence indeed, but real ("die again", "fresh", "even now"), whereby those who have been begotten in Baptism grow in the life of grace.[1]

This theme is also developed in Western tradition. St Hilary is here the great witness, and we shall frequently cite his *Tractatus Mysteriorum*. Although the influence of Origen is often felt, Hilary collects from him only that which is of service to his exclusively Christological interpretation, in which tradition appears enriched and developed in its proper meaning. Hilary first notices that "the very name of Adam prefigures the birth of the Saviour. For the Hebrew word Adam is the equivalent of the Greek *gepyrra* and of the Latin *terra flammea* and Scripture is wont to call the flesh of the human body earth. This flesh born of the Virgin by the Spirit in the Lord, transformed into a new nature and surpassing itself, has been conformed to spiritual glory, according to the Apostle's word; the second Adam is from heaven: a heavenly Adam because the earthly Adam is a figure of him who is to come. It is then with full confidence, grounded on such authority that we take the name of Adam, not without seeking a prefiguring of him who is to come" (I, 2). It is interesting that Hilary refers to the Pauline theme of the *novissimus Adam*. The name of Adam is a figure of the Adam *ἐπουρανιός*. As to the etymology, it is found neither in Philo nor in Origen, but is mentioned in a single Armenian onomasticon according to Wutz.[2]

Hilary then deals with the *somnus Adae*.

> The text then says: While Adam was asleep Eve was begotten from his side and his bone: when he awoke, this was his prophecy: *Hoc nunc os de ossibus meis* etc: there is no difficulty [in showing my meaning] since the Apostle, after mentioning this prophecy, goes on: *Hoc mysterium magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia.* But we read that

[1] The text is studied at length by Dom Casel, "Das Mysteriengedachtnis der Messliturgie in Licht der Tradition", *Jahr. Lit. Wiss.*, 1927, pp. 120 seq. See also Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia*, p. 181.

[2] *Onomastica sacra*, p. 851.

only the bone was taken from Adam. How then can it be said, flesh of my flesh? It can be understood in this sense, and it is the strictly literal sense; the bone which God, who can do all things, had clothed with flesh to make it the body of woman, after drawing it from Adam's side, this bone drawn from flesh and clothed again with flesh has become a body: so we may say, that as the bone has been drawn from bone, so the flesh had been drawn from flesh. And the Lord in the Gospel, when the Jews questioned him on the right of divorce, showed by his words that this prophecy has been spoken by himself rather than by Adam. When the Lord, who made man and woman, spoke of "bone of his bone", and "flesh of his flesh", he foretold by Adam what had been completely fulfilled in Adam himself, without eliminating the historical reality, and showed that what had been accomplished in someone else looked forward to Christ himself. Since the Word was made flesh and the Church a member of Christ—the Church which is born of water and vivified by the blood pouring from his side—and since the flesh, in which the Word, being the Son of God and existing from eternity, dwells among us sacramentally, he teaches us, in a simple manner, that in Adam and Eve the type of himself and of his Church were contained, showing that it was hallowed after the sleep of his death, by the communion of his flesh (I, 3).

This text, difficult and condensed as is the whole of this Treatise, is at the same time very rich in doctrine. The first thing to strike us is the relation between prophecy and type. The Word accomplished some figurative event in Adam, and then through prophecy reveals its significance. In this way historical events retain their full value. Further, we cannot but notice Hilary's care to elucidate in the first place any difficulties in the literal sense. This anxiety constantly appears. He holds fast to the historicity of events, for the essence of typology lies in showing that it is history itself which is figurative rather than in replacing history by allegory. And how charged with meaning is this mystery of Adam's sleep! Eve, born of Adam's flesh, is the Church

born of the Word made flesh, since it is first from the pierced side of Christ, sleeping on the cross, as from the pierced side of Adam, that blood and water flowed out, symbols of Baptism and the Eucharist, giving birth and life to the Church—and this communication of life is continued by the sacramental life, through which the flesh of Christ received in communion continues to sanctify the Church. This theme is at once Christological and sacramental: it is not the historical details of Christ's life, but the mystery of Christ himself, prefiguring the mysterious bond between his Passion and the birth of the Church. Truly, we are here at the very heart of ecclesiastical tradition.

Hilary adds an eschatological to the sacramental interpretation, in which the creation of Eve appears as a type of the Resurrection:

We must see in Adam's sleep and Eve's formation the figurative revelation of a hidden mystery concerning Christ and the Church: this revelation in fact, since it gives us its type, offers us reasons to believe in the resurrection of the body. Indeed, in woman's creation it is not the slime which is taken, nor the earth being moulded to form a body, nor the divine breath transforming lifeless matter into a living soul which is essential: it is rather that we see flesh growing upon the bones, bodily perfection being given to the flesh and the power of the spirit being added to corporeal perfection. The Lord has revealed through Ezechiel the order of the Resurrection, showing, in the things which were to come, the might of his power. Everything is found once again: the flesh is there, likewise the spirit, none of his works is lost, since God made things present which did not exist for his own work in the formation of the human body. For, according to the Apostle, it is a mystery which hath been hidden from eternity in God that the Gentiles should be fellow heirs, and of the same body and co-partners of his promise in Christ, who is able according to the same Apostle "to reform the body of our lowliness according to the operation whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself". That is why the

heavenly Adam, after the sleep of his Passion, recognized in the Church his own bone and flesh, not now created from slime and animated by the breath of the mouth, but one growing from his bone and by the coming of the Spirit forming his body, a perfect body. Those who are in Christ will rise together with Christ; in whom the resurrection of all flesh has been once and for all achieved, he being born in our flesh by the power of God through which he had been begotten by the Father in the beginning. And in as much as Jew and Greek, barbarian and Scythian, slave and freeman, man and woman are all one in Christ, since their flesh is known to be of his flesh and the Church is the body of Christ, and the mystery which is in Adam and Eve is a prophecy concerning Christ and the Church, [we believe] that at the beginning of the world all that was there and then accomplished in Adam and Eve is reserved for Christ and the Church in the fullness of time (I, 5).

Hilary touches here more deeply upon the prophetic and sacramental signification of Adam's words. If the Church is truly on one hand risen and on the other one with Christ, we can apply very rightly to her the words of Adam at his awakening: for what Adam describes—most obscurely, by *os ex osse*, is the resurrection. Ezechiel's text, which deals with this subject explicitly, shows an analogous procedure. It also represents the Church as being "one", *in carne una*. One single flesh and that a risen flesh, that is just what the Church is. Rightly then, after the sleep of the Passion, should we put on Christ's lips the prophetic words of Adam: in such words he depicts the Church born from his side during his sleep, and greets her. Hilary, in accordance with one of the methods of typological exegesis, has dug deeply in the Pauline text. This means that he has replaced the text cited in the Scripture as a type in its own context, and given a figurative sense to the whole. For instance he takes John's words: *Os non comminuetis ex eo*, which allow us to see in the paschal Lamb a figure of Christ; on the authority of the

Pauline text: *Erunt duo in carne una*, he applies to the union of Christ and the Church the whole of the passage on the creation of Eve. There is no intention of going beyond the limits of Scripture, but only to extend to other passages of the Old Testament the figurative treatment which the Apostles have already applied to certain passages. This is the sound basis of typological exegesis.

The eschatological meaning which Hilary gives to the birth of Eve remains exceptional. The normal tradition remains faithful to the sacramental interpretation, which was undoubtedly of great antiquity. Tertullian quotes it as already known in his day. In the fourth century Zeno of Verona brings it in with the recapitulation theory of Irenaeus in a passage which brings together various aspects of the Adamic typology:

As the devil by his plausibility had found a way into the ear of Eve, inflicting a deadly wound, so Christ, entering the ear of Mary, brushes away all the heart's vices and heals the woman by being born of a Virgin. Adam is circumcised on the Lord's cross, and as it was through a woman who had alone touched the deadly tree, that the two sexes had found death, inversely by this man hung on a tree the whole human race is redeemed. Lest the beginning should not appear as completely restored in its former condition, man is first offered on the cross, and during that blessed sleep his side is pierced by a lance, yet it is not a rib which is removed, but by the water and blood, signifying Baptism and martyrdom, the spiritual body of the spiritual woman springs forth in such wise that Adam is renewed by Christ, Eve by the Church (*Tract.* I, 13; P.L. XI, 352A-B).[1]

We find the same tradition in St Gregory of Elvira. "Who does not know that our Lord when he hung on the wood of the cross, did not only shed blood from the wound

[1] Water and blood, as figures of the two baptisms, are a normal theme (Tert. *de Bapt.* 16; *de Pud.* 22).

in his side, but also a stream of living water, showing that his Bride, that is, the Church, like our first parents, is formed from his side, as Eve was formed from the side of Adam" (XV, 165). St Augustine will enshrine this theme in a brief formula: "Eve was born from the side of her sleeping spouse, and the Church was born from the dead Christ by the mystery of blood which gushed forth from his side" (*Contra Faust.* XII, 8; P.L. XLII, 258). The whole of Christian thought will henceforth contemplate this mystery, and rightly apply to the nuptial soul the mysteries of water and blood which flowed forth from the pierced side of the New Adam.

V

THE PARADISE OF VIRTUES

We have now shown the development, during the first three Christian centuries, of the Adamic typology as derived from Scripture. But we find that certain of the Fathers, Clement, Origen, St Ambrose, St Gregory of Nyssa, introduce a further theme from Genesis 2 and 3 to this ecclesiastical and catechetical tradition, not the recalling of a historic event as destined to form a hope based on another similar event, but a philosophy expressed in an allegorical form. This trend, strictly philosophical, is something quite different from typology. It goes back to Philo. In his *Treatise on Paradise*, Ambrose, who was much influenced by Philo, writes as follows: "Philo confined his attention to the moral sense, because his Judaic outlook prevented him from a more spiritual understanding" (IV, 25; C.S.E.L. 281, 21). *Spiritualia* here denotes the christological or typological sense, while *moralia* implies philosophical allegory. What Ambrose calls the moral sense is therefore something entirely different from typology. Philo's object, as Wolfson has brought out very well, has been to present a biblical philosophy, correcting Greek philosophical ideas by the teaching of revelation. He has adapted the allegorical interpretation that the philosophers applied to Homer or the Egyptian myths. The Christian didascalia are the heirs of his undertaking and his method. In the realm of philosophy and theology they are of primary importance, but with them we have moved away from the realm of exegesis.

It is well to be a little more precise at the beginning. There

are theological conceptions in the second and third chapters of Genesis: man created in the divine image, sin regarded as disobedience to God's will. These data have been pondered upon by all the Fathers of the Church. Recent studies especially have enabled us to see what they have meant in particular by the creation of man in the image of God.[1] But this carries us beyond our subject. Philo's aim was something different. He saw in the story of Genesis an allegory on man, and worked out a course of anthropology on allegorical lines: Adam represents the understanding; Eve, sensation, the serpent, pleasure, etc. In an unpublished thesis, Fr Delcuve has shown that the *Allegorical Commentary on the Laws* was entirely a symbolical interpretation of the Aristotelian theory of knowledge. Under the guise of allegory Philo is therefore introducing Greek philosophy. This is obviously far removed from typology. There is a moral sense (which must be carefully distinguished both from the Jewish haggadah, which consists in putting together examples drawn from the outstanding characters of the Bible, and also from the form of typology which sees in the events of the Old Testament the types of the Christian soul) which was cherished by the Fathers till the day when this Christian philosophy freed itself from an allegorism which artificially tied it to the Bible, and became an independent approach.

Philo's allegorical interpretation of our texts is to be found in the *Allegory of the Sacred Laws* and *Questions on the Exodus*. Philo begins by distinguishing the twofold creation of man. "The races of men are twofold; for one is the heavenly man, and the other the earthly man. Now, the heavenly man, as being born in the image of God, has no participation in any corruptible or earthly essence. But the

[1] A. Mayer. *Die Gottesbildung des Mensches bei K. v. Alex.*, Rome 1941; H. Rahner, "Das Menschenbild bei Origenes", *Eranos Jahrbuch*, 1947, p. 198; K.-Ludwig Schmidt, "Imago Dei in Alten und Neuen Test.", *Er Jahr*, 1947, pp. 170 seq.; Eric Peterson, "L'immagine di Dio in san Ireneo, *La scuola cattolica*, février, 1941, pp. 45 seq.

earthly man is made of a loose material which he calls clay" (*Leg. All.* I, 31). This passage must be interpreted according to the general principles of Philo's philosophy. He distinguishes two levels in creation: that of the invisible world, which includes the ideas of all things existing: then the visible universe, which is a material participation of the invisible world. This is more apparent in the *Questions on Genesis*. "The visible man is created as the imitation of the invisible prototype. This is the Logos of God, the first principle, the first idea, the measure of all things. It is pure, without any mixture, and of an incorporeal nature; while the other is made of dust as regards the body, while the soul has been breathed into the incorruptible" (*Quaest. Genes.*, 4).[1] The contrast between the heavenly man and the earthly man will recall the First Epistle to the Corinthians. It is quite possible that when he declared that the heavenly Adam is the last, St Paul was reacting against various speculations, similar to those of Philo, which made the earthly man nothing but a reflexion of the heavenly prototype.

But to continue the allegory. After God has created the earthly man he places him in Paradise. "Paradise is the symbolical name for virtue. It is planted in the East, for virtue never sleeps, nor does it cease: as the rising sun fills all darkness with light, so when virtue arises in the soul, it enlightens its night and dispels its darkness" (*Leg. All.*, I, 45-46). Why has God placed earthly man in Paradise? "Some, thinking that Paradise is a garden, say that man when created was endowed with senses, and thus has rightly been placed in material surroundings while the other man, created in the image of God, had as his dwelling the incorporeal world of ideas. Speaking for myself I should say that Paradise is a symbol of Wisdom; man, created as a mixture of soul and body, needs formation and education" (*Quaest.* 6). Adam is the figure of the man who is to come to the knowledge of Wisdom by the exercise of his understanding,

[1] See Wolfson, *Philo*, 1, pp. 390, 425 seq.

in contradistinction to the perfect man who has infused knowledge. We may note that Philo rejects all material ideas of a garden: for him it is symbolical of man's condition. The trees of Paradise are the various virtues (*Leg All.* I, 56) and the tree of life is either virtue in general (*Leg. All.* I, 59) or piety (*Quaest.* 10). Already, this allegorizing of Paradise appears to be taken up later by Christian ascetical tradition: Paradise as the interior of the soul, of which the trees are the virtues.

Philo then considers the creation of the animals and of woman. "God first made spirit, Adam; then he gave him a companion. This should be interpreted allegorically: sensation and the passions are the soul's assistants" (*Leg. All.* 11, 5). Philo first speaks of the passions. "You see who are our assistants, the animals, that is the soul's passions" (II, 9). Philo is here bringing in a Platonic allegory. He treats the story of Genesis on the lines of a Platonic myth: the creation of Genesis is a variation of the myths of the Timaeus, which are older and more true, but in his eyes of the same literary type. The creation of woman is an allegory of sensation (αἴσθησις). "After νοῦς, sensation had to be created as its help and companion. And how is it formed? It is formed when the spirit is asleep. For it is just when the spirit is asleep that sensation is most active, and conversely when the spirit is alert then sensation is held in cheek. The proof of this is that when we wish to think we flee into solitude, shutting our eyes, closing our ears, and shutting out the senses" (*Leg. All.* II, 25). The working out of this idea is not without its interest, but how far are we removed from typology! We have seen the significance of the sleep of Adam, the birth of the Church, the Bride of the New Adam. Here we are dealing with the psychology of sensation and understanding, with an underlying moral purpose. There are quite definitely two entirely different undertakings. The object in one case is historic, in the other philosophical; the approach in one case typological, in the other allegorical.

This allegorizing of Philo will be adopted by that succession of Alexandrian didascalia which will transform it into a Christian theology. Not that this will be, as with Philo, the only interpretation; but whereas, until then, typology was the only Christian interpretation, afterwards Origen, St Ambrose and the Middle Ages will make use of allegory also. We are dealing here with quite different concerns. Allegory is not a sense of Scripture at all: it is the presentation of philosophy and Christian morality under Biblical imagery analogous to the Stoic presentation of morality in a Homeric dress. Clement was the first to make use of this method. But he did not apply it to this narrative. Origen was the first name in Christian literature to apply Philonian allegory to the story of Paradise. In the first *Homily on Genesis*, commenting on the creation of man and woman, he gives first the "literal' interpretation (I, 14; 18, 17) and then the "allegorical".

We may notice first how this interpretation is put into the setting of Christian philosophy. We have seen how Philo interprets the image of God, to the likeness of which man is made, as the Logos, meeting-place of ideas, and therefore containing in itself the archetypal ideal of man. Origen adopts this theory, but corrects it along Christian principles. The Logos, to the likeness of which man is made, is not the invisible creation prior to the visible world, that he is for Philo.[1] He is the uncreated Logos, which became incarnate in Jesus Christ. For Origen the Logos has not the same nature as he has for Philo, though the latter has exerted his influence. And this Logos is identical with Jesus.

> I find in the creation of man a remarkable fact, which I do not find elsewhere: God has made him to his image and likeness. Certainly, when we say that man is made in the image and likeness, we are not thinking of the bodily frame. No corporeal being can contain the image of God, but what has

[1] Wolfson, *Philo*, I, pp. 226 seq.

been made in God's image is the interior man, invisible, incorporeal, incorruptible, immortal. In these qualities is the image of God more clearly understood. But we must see what is this image and seek to what particular likeness it is to which man is said to be formed. For it is not said that God made man in his own image, but to the likeness of the image of God. What, then, is this other image to the likeness of which man has been made, if not our Saviour, who is the first born of all creation, of whom it is written that he is the brightness of eternal light and the figure of God's substance; for he himself said: "He who has seen me, has seen the Father". All those who come to him and strive to become partakers of that invisible image, are daily renewed by their progress in the interior man to the image of him who made them (*Hom. Gen.* I: 13).

But after this, Origen goes on to develop the allegory of creation in the manner of Philo. "Let us see by means of allegory how man in the image of God has been made male and female. Our interior man is composed of soul and spirit. The spirit is called man, the soul (*anima*) is called woman. If there is harmony between them, they unite frequently and beget sons which are good dispositions and salutary thoughts, by which they fill the earth, that is they lead their bodily senses to higher levels" (*Hom. Gen.* I, 15). This is pure Philonian allegory. The same principle is applied to the submission of animals to man. "You shall have dominion over the fishes of the sea and the birds of the air. We have already explained the literal meaning of this passage. Speaking allegorically (*secundum allegoriam*), it would appear to me that birds and fishes signify those realities of which we spoke earlier; I mean the dispositions of the soul and the thoughts of the beast" (I, 16, 20, 5-8). This example is quite sufficient to show how much our author borrows from Philo. Equally with the Jewish philosopher Origen gives us a psychological and moral approach to the narrative of Genesis. This double approach is Christian and

valid, for it represents the initial stages of Christian philosophy: it is not, however, a development of the sense of the text, but rather an extraneous addition. This moral allegorizing is confined by Origen within limits and runs on definite lines.[1] It is almost entirely absent from the work of his Cappadocian disciples of the fourth century who explain the beginning of Genesis in the literal sense. Even when their theology does depend on Philo, as in the case of Gregory of Nyssa's doctrine of the two men (*De op.* 16, P.G. XLIV, 177 seq.), they do not use his allegorizing. Gregory uses this only in such writings as the *Commentary on the Canticle*, in which we find the idea of the Paradise of virtue (XLIV, 965B). On the other hand St Ambrose makes considerable use of it, for he was led by his temperament, as was St Gregory the Great later, to give special consideration to moral aspects. Philo's system of allegory gave him the opportunity to produce a moralizing commentary on the Genesis narrative in accordance with his outlook. This work borrowed freely, and sometimes word for word from Philo, though it is also rich in a real typology. It was through him that allegory was introduced to a considerable degree into Western exegesis and henceforth continued to be an influence.

St Ambrose has devoted a whole treatise to Paradise. While typological exegesis is not entirely left aside, the emphasis is on an allegorizing morality. "Paradise is the soul in which are planted the Virtues, and where the tree of Life, that is Wisdom, is also to be found" (*De Parad.* 2; C.S.E.L. 267, 18). We come once again upon Philo. Ambrose passes on to the Temptation. He remarks that in tradition the serpent represents the demon. Then he goes on: "Some one has earlier maintained that man sinned because of the pleasure of the senses, seeing in the serpent the symbol of voluptuousness, in the woman that feeling which the Greek call αἴσθησις, in Adam who was led astray

[1] *Origène*, pp. 151 seq. (English trans., pp. 146 seq.)

the mind which the Greeks call νοῦς. Very rightly is mind represented by the symbol of man, and feeling by that of woman" (*De Parad.* 2; 271, 5-15). The writer to whom Ambrose refers is obviously Philo (*Leg. All.* II, 29). The four rivers of Paradise are the four cardinal virtues (3; 273, 24), which is Philo's interpretation (*Quaest.* 1, 12; *Leg. All.* I, 63). And Ambrose develops at some length, on the same lines as Philo, the comparison of each of the virtues with the rivers (274-277). It is only necessary to glance at Schenkl's edition to see how much he is indebted. As Origen had done earlier, Ambrose unites Christian interpretations with borrowings from profane sources. The fountain of Paradise represents Christ (3; 272, 10). The allegory of the animals is the same as that of Philo and Origen. "The beasts of the fields and the animals which are led up to Adam, are irrational motions: the animals are our more violent or shameful passions, while the birds are our vain thoughts" (II; 308, 16-15).

We are confronted with a very positive trend of exegesis, sticking close to its source, which is Philo, and one which is not so much based upon but rather proceeds side by side with the traditional exegesis. It is only later that there will be an increased fusion of the two. But what is of particular importance for us is to realize that we are dealing with an interpretation differing from the normal tradition of the Church, and based rather on the teaching of the didascalia, and therefore to be sharply distinguished from typological exegesis. It would be an entire abuse of language to include moral allegory with typology under the one heading of the spiritual sense, as opposed to the literal sense: typology is a legitimate extension of the literal sense, while moral allegory is something entirely alien: the former is in truth exegesis, the latter is not. Origen was the first to bring together these two interpretations in a forceful synthesis. But they are in reality two distinct approaches, artificially put side by side. In this book we are concerned purely with the typological

sense. We have only mentioned the allegorical treatment to emphasize by contrast the precise nature of typology which, strictly speaking, is the only spiritual sense, inasmuch as it shows how the expectations of the Old Testament are fulfilled in Christ.

BOOK II

NOAH AND THE FLOOD

I

THE FLOOD, BAPTISM, AND JUDGEMENT IN HOLY SCRIPTURE

We have seen, when dealing with the theme of Paradise, how the typology of the Fathers was based on the continuity which exists between the Old and New Testaments. This will be even more striking when we come to the Flood. No theme occurs more frequently in the Fathers than the symbolism of the ark of Noah as a type of the Church which saves men from divine judgement by means of water. At first sight perhaps this may appear as a rather far-fetched allegory of Baptism. It will be our business in this chapter to show that it is rather the natural development of the Biblical conception. It will be necessary only to discover the links which connect this interpretation with that which Scripture itself provides. In this way the Patristic interpretation finds its proper setting and becomes luminous indeed. The theme which we are to study has a particular importance, for its theological content is extremely rich. It is concerned with the theme of a divine judgement which would annihilate a guilty humanity, yet would leave by the divine mercy a remnant to be the first-fruits of a new humanity. This is a basic conception which finds its place again in the history of Israel, and of which the life of Christ will be seen as the complete fulfilment. This development will be apparent in the order which this study will follow. The Prophets foretold another Flood, from which a remnant will escape. The New Testament shows how this Flood is to be found in the death of Christ and the remnant in the

Resurrection. The Fathers of the Church apply this to the Christian life.

The Flood appears in the Old Testament as a past event which is the type of one in the future. This becomes very clear in the teaching of the Prophets, especially Isaiah. Isaiah recalls how God destroyed sin and spared his chosen ones in the Flood in order to announce to the Jews of his time the coming of the same judgement. He first proclaims the destruction of the earth by a new flood:

> Behold the Lord shall lay waste the earth and shall strip it,
> For the flood-gates from on high are opened,
> And the foundations of the earth shall be shaken.
> (24:1, 18)

This catastrophe was also foretold by those with whom Isaiah was in dispute. But these latter affirmed that the catastrophe would destroy only the enemies of Israel. Isaiah, on the contrary, insists that as the people had sinned, so it too must perish.[1]

> For you have said: We have entered into a league with death:
> When the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come upon us.
> And your league with death shall be abolished:
> When the overflowing scourge shall pass, you shall be trodden down by it (Is. 28:15-18).

However the Second Isaiah affords us a glimpse that, in view of his fidelity to the covenant, God will spare Israel in the flood which is to come.

> In a moment of indignation have I hid my face a little while from thee,
> But with everlasting kindness have I had mercy upon thee.

[1] See Gressmann, *Der Messias*, pp. 106-110.

> The thing is to me as in the days of Noah, to whom I swore
> That I would no more bring in the waters of Noah upon the earth.
> So have I sworn not to be angry with thee (54:8-9).

The allusion to Noah in this text is explicit. A second Flood is foretold, and as in the first, God will destroy guilty man, but some by his mercy will be saved. This is the fundamental idea of the Flood, which is represented as something which will occur again in the future.

We shall also find this idea in the Psalms. These are an expression of the Prophetic spirit in the Liturgy. The primary aim is to beg God to accomplish once more the great works that he had wrought of old for his people, and this from fidelity to his promise. These mighty works are those by which he had delivered in the past, particularly the deliverance of Noah and the deliverance of Moses at the time of the Exodus. These are the two pre-eminent Works of God. We find them associated together in various texts, as they will be later in the frescoes of the Catacombs, for as Lundberg has shown,[1] the baptismal typology drew its pattern from the miracles of deliverance celebrated by the Liturgy of the Synagogue. Ps. 74 (Hebrew version) recalls these miracles:

> Ours is a King who reigned before time was;
> Here on earth he has the means to bring deliverance.
> What power but thine could heap up the shifting sea,
> Crush the power of the monsters beneath its waters;
> Shatter leviathan's power, and give him up as prey to the dwellers in the waters (12-14, Knox trans.).

The victory of Yahweh over Leviathan, the sea beast, type of wickedness, which, as Gunkel has shown,[2] is bound up

[1] *Typologie baptismale*, p. 33.
[2] Gunkel, *Schopfung und Chaos*, pp. 40 seq.

with the theme of the Flood, is here closely linked with the dividing of the Red Sea. In the Second Isaiah the two themes are put side by side.

> Awake, awake, put on strength,
> O arm of Jahweh!
> Awake as in days of old,
> Was it not thou that dried up the sea
> The waters of the great abyss?
> That made the depths of the sea a way
> For redeemed to pass over? (51 : 9, Kissane trans.).

Rahab appears in the place of Leviathan in another psalm:

> It is thou that dost curb the pride of the sea, and calm
> the tumult of the waves;
> Wounded lies Rahab at thy feet (88: Heb. 89: 10).

But the Psalmist recalls this victory of Yahweh over the waters of the Flood only to urge upon him to renew these mighty works. The Psalmist ever looks towards the future, and that not as to something uncertain, but as quite explicit. Ps. 46 asserts this confidence in Yahweh when the future "cataclysm" descends upon us:

> Not for us to be afraid, though earth should be wilder-
> ness about us,
> And the hills be carried away into the depth of the sea.

And the victory over Leviathan, the final overthrow of the sea dragon, symbol of evil, is affirmed in the Apocalypse of Isaiah—

> In that day Yahweh will strike with his sword
> With his heavy, mighty and strong sword,
> Leviathan, the agile serpent,
> Leviathan, the crafty serpent.
> And will slay the monster of the sea depths (27 : 1).

The Psalms, then, disclose the same central theme as Isaiah: a final catastrophe is expected, in which Yahweh will destroy a sinful world, as he destroyed a sinful world in the days of Noah. But God will spare his chosen ones in this catastrophe because of his everlasting love. It is quite possible that the prophecy of Jonah, victim of a sea monster, and yet emerging victorious on the third day, is an echo of the Flood story. Christian typology will show the fulfilment of this expectancy in Christ. For he has descended into the abyss where dwells the sea monster, and is spared by the divine justice to be the first fruits of a new humanity. And in due time the typology of the Fathers will point out that Baptism involves a descent into a watery grave for the supreme conflict against the sea beast over which the baptized person is permanently victorious.[1]

The episode of the Flood, however, takes only a secondary place as a type of the future in the Prophets. Their hope is directed above all to the people of Israel, and their central theme, as we shall see, is the New Exodus, which is coloured with images borrowed from the narrative of Paradise and the Flood. The burden of Isaiah's prophecy is that of a new captivity, to be followed by a new Exodus. He describes this invasion of peoples in terms of a Flood.[2] On the other hand, as Hoskyns has shown: "the aim of the priestly historian has been to elaborate the story of Noah as a type of Israel overwhelmed, as it were, in their captivity by the great floods of Gentile oppression".[3] The narrative of the Flood in Genesis thus appears as a projection into the legendary past of the fears and hopes of the era of the Prophets. Rahab, the sea serpent, is a mystical personification of Egypt. This representation of the heathen persecution, as incoming floods, occurs again in the Apocalypse of St John. "The waters which thou sawest, where the harlot

[1] See Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, p. 147.
[2] Gressmann, *Der Messias*, pp. 107-109.
[3] *The Riddle of the New Testament*, 1947, p. 70.

sitteth, are peoples and nations and tongues" (17:15). This symbolism passes to a certain extent into Christian tradition, and the writing of the Pseudo-Cyprian, *Ad Novatianum*, will see in the Flood, on the authority of this text of the Apocalypse, a figure of the persecutions inflicted on the Ark of the Church (5; C.S.E.L. p. 56).

On the other hand, the Flood is the leading theme in the Apocalypses, which pass from an eschatology which is national and historic to one which is wholly transcendent.[1] These later writers are expecting a cosmic catastrophe which will destroy the World and be a repetition of the Flood. The most important text in this regard is the Apocalypse of Noah, which is part of the Book of Enoch. The writer in imagination puts himself in the time before the Flood, and describes it as something which is to come, but it is the cataclysm at the end of time which he intends to foretell. It has been very well described by François Martin: "In the mind of the writers of the apocalyptic books, the history of the past is the best justification of the ideas for the future: it is in the ages which have gone by that we gain some insight into the divine plan, and get even an outline of the second stage of what they foretell" (*Livre d'Henoch*, p. 193). On other accounts, too, these glimpses from the Apocalypses are of great importance, for they explain to us many features of the Noah typology which have their roots deep in the Jewish Apocalypses.

We may notice in the first place that the Flood is placed in direct relationship to the sin of the Angels, who have had intercourse with the daughters of men, and are cast into the abyss until the last judgement (10:6). God then decides to destroy the earth: "Go unto Noah, and reveal unto him the destruction which is to come: for the whole earth will perish. The waters of the deluge will come upon the earth and everything upon it will be destroyed" (10:2). The Flood is foretold with circumstances which have their origin in Babylonian mythology. "In those days the scourge will open the reservoirs of water which are above the heavens and the fountains of water which are below the heavens: the water which is above the heaven is male and that which is below is female" (54, 7-10). We meet here the Babylonian Tiâmat and Apsû with which the author later identifies Leviathan and Behemoth (60:7-8). "The earth is then swallowed up by the great abyss" (83:4). Enoch is told by God to pray that a "remnant" subsist on the earth and not be entirely annihilated (80:8). This prayer is heard and Enoch foretells to the father of Noah that his sons will be this remnant. "The Lord will accomplish new wonders on the earth. There will be great floods and devastation. But the child which is born to us will remain on the earth. Give him the name of Noah, for he will be truly a remnant, and he and his children will be saved" (140:17).

[1] See Goppelt, *Typos*, pp. 37 seq.

We are led back to the central theme of the Flood typology: a catastrophe which will annihilate the sinful world, a remnant of which will be saved. Such was the mystery accomplished in the time of Noah, which the author relates as prefiguring times to come. What is novel is the definiteness which distinguishes this theme of Noah. It is above all he who was part of the former world and was preserved through the catastrophe to be the beginning of the new world. The writer connects this doctrine with the etymology of Noah's name, which he traces to the root "nouah", meaning "what remains',[1] though Genesis explains it as "rest" (Gen. 5:29). It is very striking that this interpretation seems already to be included in a passage of Ecclesiasticus when Noah appears as a "remnant".

> Noah was found, perfect, just;
> And in the time of wrath he was made a reconciliation.

[1] This doctrine of Noah as the "remnant" is a projection into the past of the conception of the "remnant" of Israel in the Prophets, just as the concept of the covenant of Noah, in the priestly writer, was a projection of the theology of the covenant.

> Therefore was there a remnant left to the earth
> When the flood came.
> The covenants of the world were made with him,
> (44:17-19).

This curious idea crops up again in later Judaism. *The Clementine Homilies*, in which there is a considerable Jewish influence, say: "God made the waters of the flood to overflow, so that, when mankind had perished, the universe when it was purified could be delivered over without spot to the righteous man saved from the ark for the new beginning of life" (VIII, 12). Origen tells us of a Jewish midrash on a curious passage of Ezechiel, which unites Noah, Daniel and Job as types of just men who have been spared (XVI, 11):

> I heard a Jew explain this passage by saying that they had been mentioned as having known the three stages: happy, unhappy, happy. . . . See Noah before the Flood when the world was still intact. See him in the destruction of the world saved in the ark. See him coming out after the Flood, becoming as it were the creator of a new world. Such is the just man: he sees the world before the Flood, that is before the end: he sees it in the Flood, that is in the destruction of sinful man at the day of Judgement: and he will see it again at the resurrection of all sinners (*Hom. Exech.*, IV, 8; P.G. XIII, 703, 3).

Philo, echoing a Jewish tradition, puts out the same idea: "God has judged Noah worthy to be the beginning and end of our race, end (τέλος) of all things before the flood, beginning (ἀρχή) of all that follows" (*De Abr.*, 46). Noah is thus the "hinge" of two worlds. This does not yet appear in our texts as having been projected into the future. It is the Flood as a whole which is a type. But when Christian writers later apply the typology of the Flood to the coming of Christ they found in the various incidents the elements

of a remarkable typology of Christ, the first-born of the second creation and the remnant of Israel.

We have mentioned in connection with the typology of Paradise that the New Testament continues the eschatological typology of the Old Testament in a twofold manner. Sometimes it will be sufficient to reproduce, as did the Prophets, the time to come in a type, by showing how events will turn out: this is an eschatological typology which is not specifically Christian; at other times it will show that these types are already realized in Christ and in the Church, which are as it were a forecast of the last age, and this is what we understand by Christian typology. This general principle applies to the Flood. A first series of texts reveal it to us as a type of eschatological occurrences. It is especially in the Petrine Epistles that the cycle of Noah is chiefly developed, no doubt because of their pronounced Jewish and apocalyptic flavour. Our first text gives us an eschatological typology:

> Knowing this first, that in the last days there shall come deceitful scoffers, walking after their own lusts, saying, "Where is his promise or his coming? for since the time that the fathers slept, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." For this they are wilfully ignorant of, that the heavens were before, and the earth rose out of water, and through water, consisting by the word of God, whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished. But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgement and perdition of the ungodly men. But of this one thing be not ignorant, my beloved, that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years. The Lord delayeth not his promise, but dealeth patiently for your sake, not willing that any should perish, but that all should return to penance (II Pet. 3: 3-9).

We have a comparison here between the times which preceded the Flood and those which will precede the judge-

ment, along the line we have met in the Prophets. Two themes in particular stand out. The first is the contrast of the first judgement by water, with the second by fire. The idea of a last judgement by fire appears side by side with one by water in Isaiah (10:16) and in Enoch (91:9; 102:1). We find a clear contrast between the two judgements, that of the flood by water, that of the end of the world by fire, in the *Life of Adam and Eve*: "To punish you for your transgression, the Lord will make the fear of his judgement fall on your posterity, the first by water, the second by fire" (49:3). The judgement by water here appears as the first stage in the last judgement by fire. The second important feature is the "respite" allowed by God. Between the construction of the ark and the final catastrophe, there is an interval, allowed by the patience of God (I Pet. 3:19). This interval appears, as St Ambrose clearly perceived, in the narrative of the Flood: "for yet awhile, and after seven days, I will destroy every substance that I have made" (Gen. 7:4). The reason for this was that God wished to leave to the sinner time for repentance. "The Lord left time enough for repentance for he loves better to forgive than to punish, so that man, induced by the fear of a threatened flood, may ask for forgiveness" (*De Noe*, XIII, 43; C.S.E.L., 440). This is, as the Second Epistle of St Peter tells us, a type of this present time. Judgement must strike guilty humanity, but God allows a respite for repentance (II Pet. 3:9). The true character of this life of the Church is shown to us. The whole sacramental era represented by the thousand years (which takes us back to the apocalyptic literature) is as a single day, an interval during which the eschatological judgement is held over, while the Church gathers her fullness.

With the text from the Second Epistles of St Peter, we can associate another text, also giving us an eschatological typology of the Flood, and having equally marked dependence on the apocalyptic literature: the discourse of Christ on the

last day in Matthew 24:37-39. "And as in the days of Noah, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For, as in the days before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, even till that day in which Noah entered into the ark, and they knew not till the flood came and took them all away: so also shall the coming of the Son of man be." The emphasis is on the suddenness of the Parousia. But the essential idea is the same: the culpable indifference of sinners in the time of Noah, which forecast that of sinners before the final coming. This final Parousia is already at hand in Jesus, if we may adopt the view of Theo Preiss[1] on Matthew's eschatology, and if this be so, we have already a typology which is strictly Christian.

We have also to note the parallel between Noah and the Son of man. We must not forget that the Book of Enoch presents a parallel between Enoch and the Son of Man (71: 14), and Gressmann believes that behind this is an older parallel between Noah and the Son of Man.[2] In either case we are still in the realm of Jewish Apocalypses.

The Epistles of St Peter lead us to another series of texts where we shall find the typology of the Flood take on certain other aspects, and particularly that of the present realization in Baptism. The Patristic theme of the Flood as a type of Baptism has its root in the New Testament itself: "Because Christ also died once for our sins, the just for the unjust, that he might offer us to God, being put to death indeed in the flesh, but enlivened in the spirit. In which also coming he preached (κηρύττειν) to those spirits that were in prison: which had been some time incredulous, when they waited for the patience of God in the days of Noah, when the ark was a building: wherein a few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. Whereunto baptism, being of the like form

[1] Theo Preiss, "Le mystère du Fils de l'homme", *Dieu Vivant*, VIII, pp. 17 seq.

[2] Gressmann, *Der Messias*, p. 350.

(ἀντίτυπος) also saveth you" (I Pet. 3: 18-21). This text, which Bellarmine long ago called one of the most obscure in the Bible, has had a good deal of light thrown on it by a remarkable study of Bo Reicke.[1] The chief difficulty lies in the word κηρύπτειν which is translated by "preached", which seems to imply a conversion of the spirits in prison. But it is not this which is involved, but the proclamation which Christ makes of his victory as he makes his descent to the underworld. The spirits in prison are the angels who before the Flood took wives of the daughters of men, and were, because of this, as we are told by Enoch, confined in the Abyss till the day of Judgement. To these Christ announces their overthrow. But the devil's offspring of the fallen angels continue to act in the world, and have a special relationship with paganism and the Empire. As Christ fearlessly attacked and overcame the fallen angels, so have Christians the pagan world and the demons who inhabit it. Such would appear to be the general bearing of the passage.[2]

But it is especially the parallel between Baptism and the Flood which the author emphasizes. The word ἀντιτύπος denotes reality as opposed to type: the Flood would then be an image to be fulfilled in time by Baptism. Three features are involved in the comparison: the water, the ark and the eight people. As to the first, it might be possible to hold that we are dealing with images from the point of view of analogy, but it seems rather that there is a complete interpretation of the baptismal rite. As Noah had overcome "the sea of death" in which sinful humanity has been wiped out, and came forth the victor, so the newly baptized goes down into the baptismal font to attack the sea dragon in mortal combat, and comes out the victor. This aspect of the baptismal rite comes up frequently in early Christianity.

[1] Bo Reicke, *The disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism*, Lund 1946, pp. 92 seq. See also Gschwind, *Die Niederfahrt Christi in der Unterwelt*.
[2] Bo Reicke, *loc. cit.*, 85 and 131.

Between the Flood and Baptism a place must be found for the descent of Christ into Hell, that is into the domain of the sea dragon. It is here that we come to the complete fulfilment of the Mystery of the Flood. Christ, the new Noah, goes down into the torrent of death, and comes forth victorious, the first born of the new creation. Baptism, as St Paul tells us, is a sacramental representation of the death and resurrection of Christ. The means of salvation is the ark, which later tradition will understand either as the cross of Christ, if considering the descent into hell, or the Church, if considering Baptism.[1]

There is one other fact which will appear even more strange, namely the author's statement that the number of persons was eight, Noah and his wife, and his three sons and their wives. But it is even more astonishing if we consider the last Noachic text of the Epistles of Peter. For we read there, "for if God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell, unto torments to be reserved unto judgement: and spared not the original world, but preserved Noah the eighth person, the preacher of justice, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly. . . . The Lord knoweth how to deliver the ungodly from temptation" (II Pet. 2: 4-9). We may notice first that the punishment of the Angels before the Flood, already mentioned in the first epistle, here becomes a figure of the punishment of the wicked. But what is particularly noticeable is the re-occurrence of the number *eight* in connection with Noah, and even more curious, not in connection with the number of persons saved in the Ark, but with genealogies before the Flood. There is a tradition which counts seven generations before Noah (*Clementine Recognitions*, 1, 29). It is different from that given both in Genesis (5: 1-31), and from that in the Gospel of St Luke (3: 24-38). It seems to be derived from apocalyptic tradi-

[1] Per Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église*, pp. 98 seq.

tions, influenced by the Babylonian conception of the antediluvian seven wise men.[1] It is characteristic of most of the affinities of this Epistle with the Apocalyptic literature, but it does not explain to us why the Epistle of St Peter emphasizes this point in connection with baptism. The reason is that the number eight symbolizes the eighth day on which Christ rose, being the day after the Sabbath, and of which (eighth) day the Christian Sunday is the perpetual memorial. And it is through Baptism that the Christian enters the Church, given on Easter Sunday, the eighth day *par excellence*. So we very early find the baptismal symbol—ogdoad. It is from that that the Epistle of St Peter finds the type in the ogdoad of Noah.[2] St Justin gave this symbolism definitive form. Noah with his wife, his three sons and the wives of his sons form the number eight and provide the symbol of the eighth day, the day of the manifestation of the resurrection (*Dial.* CXXXVIII, 1-2).[3]

The last text of the Second Epistle of St Peter which we have cited has a feature not so far encountered: Noah is presented as "the preacher of justice" (II Pet. 2:4). This is not derived from Genesis but from Jewish traditions (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 1, 3, 2; *Sybill. Orac.* 1, 127). And Christian tradition will often bring it forward. *The Epistle of Clement*, whose affinities with the Jewish haggadah are numerous, writes, "Noah preached penitence and those who heard him were saved" (VII, 6). And later, "Noah, being found faithful had the office of proclaiming to the World the second birth (παλιγγενεσία)" IX, 3). This last word is interesting as designating both the second creation which followed the Flood and Christian Baptism (John 3:5). The expression, "preaching of repentance" is found in Theophilus of Antioch (*Ad Aut.*, III, 19). We find once more the

[1] W. Staerk, *Die Saülen der Welt und des Hauses der Weisheit*, Zeitsch. fur Neut. Wiss. 1936, pp. 245 seq.
[2] F. J. Dölger has shown that the octagonal form of baptisteries derived from this symbolism (*Antike und Christentum*, IV, 3, p. 82).
[3] Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale*, p. 82.

interval permitted by God before the cataclysm to give time for repentance. And if we recall the relationship between the baptism of John and the Flood, then Noah's preaching of repentance will be seen as prefiguring the preaching of John the Baptist. And Christ also "preached repentance because the kingdom of heaven is at hand". Here also the New Testament writers show us how the themes which the Old Testament writers announced as to be accomplished at the end of time are fulfilled in Christ.[1]

We see, then, how the Epistles of St Peter give a complete typology of Noah, worked out in the themes of Christ, the Church and Eschatology. We can now group in their logical order the elements which we have studied in the order of their appearance. We have seen in the first instance that the Flood was the type of the Last Judgement. Then the First Epistle of St Peter shows us the Flood as the figure of Baptism. But as Bo Reicke has well said, the essential teaching of I Pet. 3:18-21 is to show to the Christians who renounce Satan at their baptism their pattern in the descent of Christ into Hell and his proclaiming the defeat of Satan.[2] If, then, we may now set forth the types in their order, the Flood comes first as the figure of Christ's triumph over the sea dragon through his descent into Hell: he is the true Noah who has experienced the swelling of the waters of death, and has been delivered by God to be the beginning of a new world; it represents also Baptism wherein the Christian is buried with Christ in the waters of death through the symbol of the baptismal waters, figuratively undergoing the punishment due to sin and being freed with Christ[3] and henceforth belonging to the new creation, to that eighth day which is the life of the world to come, already present in mystery.

[1] This also shows us the relations between the Flood and Prophecy which we noted above. Noah is presented by Jewish tradition as similar to the Prophets preaching repentance on the eve of the captivity.
[2] *The disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism*, p. 216.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Lastly it represents the eschatological judgement by which a sinful world will be totally destroyed by the fire of judgement, from which those only will escape who, belonging to this sacred ogdoad, will be saved in the ark of the Church and so arrive on the banks of eternity.

II

THE FLOOD, BAPTISM, AND JUDGEMENT IN THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

THE main lines of the typology of Noah may now be considered as established. The Old Testament has laid down their significance, and the New Testament shows how they have been fulfilled in Christ. The Fathers have only to draw out the developments. We shall follow their study of it in the same order as we did that of the New Testament. First we shall study the eschatological typology which is but a continuation of that of the prophets and Apocalypses: then pass on to the strictly Christological and sacramental typology. This was very clearly the meaning of the New Testament when it made Baptism the "antitype of the flood", which we shall see worked out most exhaustively. Starting from the general lines given in Scripture, the Fathers strive to show in detail that the Flood prefigures Baptism. The imagery will at times develop into profound theological analogies. We ought always to bear this in mind: the theological sense controls the illustrative sense, to borrow a happy phrase of A. G. Hebert.[1]

We have seen that one of the fundamental themes of eschatological typology was the parallelism between the patience of God before the Flood and God's patience with individual sinners. This theme appears both in the Gospel of St Matthew and the Epistles of St Peter. We may even say that it is the most underlined idea of the New Testament. We find it in the second century in St Justin. "If God held back the catastrophe which would submerge the

[1] *The Authority of the Old Testament*, pp. 233 seq.

world and bring about the disappearance of the bad angels, the devils and sinful men, it is on account of us Christians. Apart from us, the fire of judgement would come down, bringing with it universal destruction, as did once the Flood, which spared no one, save Noah, whom you call Deucalion, and his family. It is thus we say that the conflagration (ἐκπύρωσις) will take place" (*II Ap.* VII, 2). As in the Second Epistle of St Peter, the whole period between the first coming of Christ and his Parousia is represented as a delay, in which judgement is held back only because God leaves man time to repent. We notice also the parallelism between the Flood and the fire of judgement. Finally there is an interesting connection between the Greek ideas of Deucalion and the ἐκπύρωσις and the Biblical themes of Noah and the Deluge. As to Deucalion and Noah, Origen's remarks can be read in his *Contra Celsum*. To the Hellenic theories of floods and periodic conflagrations, after which all begins again, as described by Celsus, Origen opposes the Christian doctrine of things passing irrevocably (*C. Celsum*, 1, 19; Koetschau, I, 70).

But with Justin the eschatological aspect takes a rather secondary place; on the other hand, however, it is a leading theme in one of the most important works of the second century, that of St Irenaeus, above all his Fifth book. We have seen that in this book, dealing with the last things, Irenaeus depends on traditions handed down by the presbyters, and concerned especially with millenarianism. These presbyters seem to be not ecclesiastical authorities, but elders in the literal sense, belonging to the Palestine Jews who were the Lord's first disciples and deeply imbued with Judaism. Once again when dealing with the traditions about Noah in the early Church we are brought face to face with conceptions that derive from the pharisaical background of the Apocalypses with which the Petrine Epistles, the eschatological Discourse, the Epistle of Clement, and Justin and Irenaeus have affinities. There is a whole group

of early Christian writings on these lines in which the figure of Noah forms a criterion. The main idea of Irenaeus, controlling his interpretation of the Old Testament, is to hold up against the gnostics the unity of the divine plan. It is the same Word of God who spoke with the Prophets, preparing mankind to receive him who was incarnate in Jesus. It was the Word who spoke to Noah, *dans eis mensuras* (IV, 10; 1000A). This mysterious expression of the Latin translation occurs later on: *Noe accepit mensuras mundi secundae generationis* (IV, 16; 1016B). It seems that the second text should read: *Accepit mensuras, mundi secunda generatione* (τῇ τοῦ κόσμου παλιγγενεσίᾳ). The measures are the measurements of the ark which even to the Jews were objects of speculation. As for "the second birth of the World" it is the theme of the re-commencement which is the heart of the Noah theme.[1]

But the most important texts come later. Irenaeus is ever intent on showing the unity of God's plans. He quotes Matt. 24:42, and comments thus:

> It is the same Lord who in the time of Noah because of man's disobedience sent upon him the flood, and in the time of Lot sent fire from heaven; who at the last hour will send on them the day of judgement, still on account of their disobedience, when he will be far more indulgent to Sodom and Gomorrha than to the city or house which has not received the words of his apostles. . . . It is the same Word of God who gives to those who believe in him, the fount of water flowing unto eternal life, but who also dried up the unfruitful fig tree: who in the days of Noah sends the Flood to envelop the evil race of men then living who could not bring forth fruit worthy of God, since the disobedient angels were intermarried with them, to abate their sins, but saves the race of Adam by the figure of the Ark (*typus arcae*). . . . And just as

[1] See *Ep. Clem:* "Noah announced to the world the second birth (παλιγγενεσία)" (IX:3) Aphraates, *Demonst.* XIII:7 (P. Syr. I. 557); Ambrose: "Noah who was preserved by God to renew the human race" (*De Noe et Arca*, I; C.S.E.L. pp. 413 seq).

> he gives a greater grace through his coming to those who believe in him, equally he will inflict in judgement greater penalty on those who do not believe in him (1093, C).

Once again we find the central idea of the Prophets: the divine action in the Flood is at once a condemnation and a forgiveness, and we shall find this is so in all events which are the antitypes of the Flood: the grace of those who will believe in Christ will be greater than that of Noah who was saved from the waters: the punishment of those who do not believe in the judgement will be greater than that of those who perished in the Flood. The Flood, then, is both the type of salvation by Christ and the judgement of sinners. The passage is based on the Second Epistle of St Peter, in which we find the same allusions to the fallen angels, and to Sodom and Gomorrha (2:4-9). On the other hand, Irenaeus emphasizes the superiority of the future judgement over the Flood, which is a feature of typology.

A second passage of Irenaeus will appear to us more strange. But the interest lies in the fact that it occurs in the Fifth book, in a context full of Jewish traditions and is, most probably, indebted to these traditions. It is concerned with the coming of Antichrist. Irenaeus reminds us that St John tells us in the Apocalypse that the number of the Beast is 666. Irenaeus is here showing how the beast "recapitulates" the evil of the world, as we saw in the previous book that Christ "recapitulates" all its sanctity.

> In the beast when he comes there will be a summing up (ἀνακεφαλαίωσις) of all iniquity and deceit, in order that all the power of rebellion running into and shut up in one beast, may be cast into the furnace of fire. Suitably, then, his name will have the number 666; he sums up in himself all the wickedness which was before the flood. Noah was six hundred years old when the flood came up on the earth to blot out sin; he sums up all the idolatory from the flood to the erection of Nabuchodonosor's image, which was sixty cubits high and six cubits wide. For that image (εἰκών) prefigured the coming of Antichrist. The six hundred years of Noah's life, during which came the flood because of the apostasy, and the number of cubits of the image, signify, as we have said, the number of the name in which he summed up all apostasy, iniquity and wickedness of the six hundred years V. 29; 1202A-1203A).

The immediate origin of this is the Apocalypse of St John, which has its roots deep in the apocalyptic mentality of Judaism. The text of Irenaeus represents an interpretation along the same line of thought. The special interest for us is the central position held by Noah. He marks the end of the old world and its wickedness, and the beginning of a new epoch which will last till the end of time. The parallelism between the Flood and the Last Judgement, between the "Beast" of the Flood and the "Beast" of the Apocalypse is characteristic.

This eschatological typology retains its place up to the fourth century. We find it in St Ephrem, in a text which is cited by Edsman (*Baptême de feu*, p. 102).

> When Christ descended from heaven
> Straightway an inextinguishable fire raged everywhere
> Before the face of Christ and devoured everything.
> And the flood in the time of Noah
> Was the type of this inextinguishable fire.
> For just as the Flood covered even the tops of the mountains
> So does this fire.
> Then do the angels speed on their way
> And raise all the saints and faithful ones
> Into glory to meet Christ in the clouds of heaven.

This is a very remarkable conception which likens the final catastrophe to the Flood. It is, in fact, considered as a deluge of fire which destroys the universe, but from which

the just escape, as Noah did from the flood. We are at once reminded of the Jewish Apocalypses. We have seen how moved Enoch was when he experienced the first rumblings, harbingers of the final catastrophe and engulfing by fire. And this is the idea that we find in the Second Epistle of St Peter, the affinities of which with the Noah theme are so marked: "for this they are wilfully ignorant of, that the heavens were before, and the earth, out of water, and through water, consisting by the word of God . . . and the elements shall be melted with heat, and the earth and the works which are in it shall be burnt up" (3:5-10). Among the Latins we find the eschatological typology in the Homily *De arca Noe*, published by Dom Wilmart in the *Revue Bénédictine*,[1] which he attributes with much probability to St Gregory of Elvira. "As Noah was alone found righteous on all the earth, every one else but he perishing in the flood, while he with his household was saved, being pleasing to God because of his holy life, while the world had provoked God's anger: so when the Lord comes to judge the world by fire, he will put an end to all the wickedness of the fallen angels and to all the enemies of the world, that the saints alone may have rest in the Kingdom of the world to come. The ark, made of incorruptible wood, represents the building of the Holy Church which will abide ever with Christ" (p. 6). We find again the contrast of the two judgements of water and of fire, and the symbolism of the ark, type of the incorruptible Church which will pass through the fire of judgement. Gregory of Elvira however gives to the people of the ark a quite different interpretation from that of the First Epistle of Peter: "The seven persons conceded to Noah at the time of the destruction by water represent the seven churches which at the end of the world, when all the nations will perish, will be saved by Christ from the flood to receive the glory of the life to come. For as no one escaped from the flood save those who were inside the ark, so also no one

[1] *Rev. Bén.*, 1909, pp. 1 seq.

will be able to escape the divine judgement save him who is sheltered by the ark of the Catholic Church" (p. 7).

The first series of texts which we have quoted built up an eschatological typology based on the Flood. But the sacramental typology, outlined in the First Epistle of Peter, underwent far greater development in patristic tradition. Both are closely linked by St Justin, in a remarkable passage in which he emphasizes the typology of St Peter:

> In the flood was implicit the mystery (*μυστήριον*) of man's salvation. At the time of the flood the righteous Noah with his wife and three sons and their wives, making in all eight persons, were a figure of the eighth day, (*σύμβυλον τῆς ογδόης ἡμέρας*) on which Christ appeared as risen from the dead and which is always first in rank. Now Christ, the first-born of every creature, is become the head (*αρχή*) of a new race, which has been regenerated by him through water, faith and wood, which embraces the mystery of the cross, as Noah, together with his family, was saved by the wood of the ark carried on the waters. When then the prophet says: "In the time of Noah I saved thee", as I said before, he speaks also to people faithful to God and possessing these signs. . . . As the whole earth, according to the Scriptures, was inundated, it is obvious that it was not to the earth that God speaks, but to the people who obeyed him, for whom he had prepared a harbour of rest (*ἀνάπαυσις*) at Jerusalem, as it was shown beforehand by all the figures at the time of the Flood; and I mean here that those who themselves prepared by water, faith and wood, and repented of their sins, will escape the future judgement of God. (*Dial.* CXXXVIII, 2-3).

This passage, heavily charged with mysteries—the word *σύμβολον* occurs three times and *μυστήριον* twice—brings together all the different aspects of the "sacrament" of Noah. First, it asserts clearly that Noah, spared by the general catastrophe, the head of a new humanity, the author of the first covenant, prefigures him who is alone really spared the punishment, for Noah did but prefigure him who

should become "head" (αρχή) of another race, of a humanity truly new, through whom was finally inaugurated the new and true covenant. We note the word αρχή, "head" of another race. We find it again elsewhere (XIX, 4). And we have seen Philo uses it. The whole theme of Noah as the first-born of the new creation is here applied to Christ. Each of the types of Christ in the Old Testament brings out some aspect of the redemption: as the new Adam, Christ recapitulates, takes up once more man's creation to lead it to its full achievement: as the new Moses, he is the Lawgiver who gives the charter of the new covenant. But among all these types, that of Noah is one of the most remarkable, for it reveals to us Christ as accepting in his death the condemnation which should destroy the sinful world and showing in his Resurrection that he is the Righteous one, spared in order to be the beginning of a new creation. The theme of the τέλος-ἀρχή is quite different from that of the ἀρχή-τέλος in which Christ appears as the beginning and the end. In this theme he appears as the *milieu*, as the hinge of all history, and thus shows us, as Cullmann in *Christ and Time* remarks, that the characteristic of Christian history is to find its main event at the centre.

But the mystery of the deliverance of Noah is also the mystery of each individual Christian. After the Christological typology we have the sacramental typology. Here St Justin echoes the ideas of the New Testament, especially of the First Epistle of St Peter: "Christ, through his resurrection, becomes the Head of a new race, which is regenerated by water, faith and wood, which embraces the mystery of the cross." The Flood waters are a type of the waters of Baptism. We have explained earlier the basis of this analogy. There are really two levels of this comparison. On the one hand there is a *theological* resemblance between the Flood, the descent into Hell and Baptism, for all are directed by God: in the three cases there is a sinful world which must be obliterated through punishment, and in the three

cases a righteous one is spared: in the case of the Flood, it is Noah: in the case of the descent into Hell, Jesus Christ: in the case of baptism the Christian, by his likeness to Jesus Christ. Baptism is, then, a sacramental likeness to the descent into Hell, and both are prefigured by the Flood. But there is also between the Flood and Baptism the common element of water, which brings in the illustrative typology. Of itself it is not sufficient to form a basis for typology, and it is the fault of certain exegetes to find Baptism whenever water is mentioned in the Old Testament. But these illustrations have their value when they are signs which enable us to recognize the theological analogies. Typology seeks in the Old Testament not only the type of the realities of the New Testament but also the type of the *sacramenta* beneath which this reality is expressed and which are themselves sacraments of the realities of the Old Law: for if God has chosen certain signs rather than others, as St Hilary remarks (*Tract. Myst.* 1, 33), it is because they constitute a system of "correspondences" in the course of history, between the different covenants, thus bringing out that they form parts of a whole. The group of water and wood which typify Baptism in the Old Testament form one of the oldest of these *sacramenta*. We meet it in the Flood, in the wood which sweetened the waters of Marah, in the axe of Elisha floating on the waters. It forms part of the mystagogical catechesis of Baptism in the early Church.[1]

We also find asserted the symbolism of the ogdoad, the importance of which we noticed in the texts dealing with Noah. It indicates here explicitly the eighth day, which succeeds the week, and which is "implicitly the first". This eighth day is a type of the resurrection of Christ, which took place on the day following the sabbath: it typifies Baptism which is the beginning of a new epoch and the first day of a

[1] E. G. Pseudo-Barnabas, XI, 5; Justin, *Dialogue* LXXXVI; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* V, 17, 4; Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 13; Didymus, P. G. XXXIX, 697b. See Lundberg, *Typologie baptismale*, p. 178.

new week: lastly it typifies the eternal eighth day which shall follow the whole age of this world. The Day of the Lord, eighth and first, brought into the weekly Christian liturgy this symbolism, which appears as one of the most important in Scripture in so far that it is connected with the most sacred institutions. It is found in the most ancient texts. "We keep joyously the eighth day on which Jesus rose" (Pseudo-Barnabas, XV, 9). It is linked with the theme of τέλος-ἀρχή in a liturgical text of the third century: "Thou who didst spread over the earth the great Flood because of man's sins, and didst save Noah with eight persons in the ark, as the end (τέλος) of things past, and the beginning (ἀρχή) of things to come" (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I, 117). The Gnostics will see in these eight people a figure of their ogdoad: "They say," says St Irenaeus, that the economy of the ark in the Flood clearly signifies the saving ogdoad" (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I, 18; 645B). But this is only a derived sense compared with the Patristic sense. We note that it is not the symbolism of the ogdoad which Irenaeus criticizes, but its application to the Gnostic pleroma.

Finally, the last mark of our text is the relation established between sacramental typlogy and the eschatological typology of the Flood. "Those who are prepared by water, faith and wood, and have repented of their sins, will escape the judgement of God which is to come." The relationship of Baptism with eschatology belongs to the New Testament, being particularly brought out in the baptism of John. Barrett rightly understands it as an aggregation to the messianic community in view of the future judgement.[1] And Van Imschoot has proved that the primitive idea of the phrase: "I indeed baptize you in water: he shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and in fire" was eschatological—it is Luke who gives it a sacramental turn, in which the baptism of fire and the spirit is no longer the judgement but the

[1] *The Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition*, p. 33.

Christian Baptism as contrasted with the baptism of John.[1] But what is new in one text is that Christian Baptism appears not only as a preparation for an eschatological judgement—a basic theme that we shall meet again—but also to a certain extent as a prefiguration. Baptism by its symbolism of immersion, appeared as a sacramental anticipation, by way of imitation, of the final judgement, which is a baptism of fire, enabling the Christian to escape this judgement, since he is already judged.[2] Origen asserts this quite definitely. "In the baptism of water we are buried with Christ; in the baptism of fire, we shall be conformed to the body of his glory."[3] Baptism, while it is an efficacious memorial of the death and Resurrection of Christ, which he himself considered as baptism,[4] is at the same time an efficacious prophecy of our eschatological death and resurrection and these three acts have themselves been prefigured by the Flood. We may note, lastly, the appearance of the theme of the ἀνάπαυσις. It is still a traditional theme of the Noah[5] typology and is based on Genesis (5:29). Also, ἀνάπαυσις is a word which indicates the world to come, in contrast to the week, a type of this present life. We are in an eschatological context, which emphasizes the expression "judgement of God which is to come". It is important, however, to note that in the mind of St Justin, as is proved by other passages (*Dial.* LXXXI, 3; cp. Irenaeus, V, 30, 4), the place of rest in Jerusalem indicates the millennium which is to precede the end, when the righteous will enjoy their reward already on earth. The idea comes from Jewish apocalypses, and is found again in Irenaeus. We notice once again that the literary background of the Noah typology is to be found in the Jewish speculations at the time of the beginning of Christianity. It is the same cycle of Noah which has been developed by the

[1] *Baptême de feu et baptême d'eau*, *Éph. Lov.*, 1936, pp. 653 seq.
[2] Edsman, *Le Baptême de feu*, pp. 124 seq.
[3] Co. Mth., XV:23.
[4] *Lk.* XII, 50.
[5] Lundberg, *Typologie baptismale*, p. 79.

Jews along their own lines and given a Christological interpretation by the Christians.

We meet with St Justin's ideas in a passage of Asterius in a Sermon on Psalm 6 (P.G. XL, 448B-D).[1] He works out the development of the theme of the ogdoad: "Why did the Lord rise on the eighth day? Because the first ogdoad of men, in the time of Noah, after the destruction of the former human race, gave a new start to mankind." We find once more the idea of the end of the world and the new creation. Asterius sees in these eight persons, who are the origin of all those who have followed, the figure of Christ, who also is the beginning of a new race. He goes on: "Just as the first resurrection of the race after the Flood had its origin in eight persons, so the Lord began the Resurrection of the dead on the eighth day, when after he had stayed in the tomb as Noah stayed in the ark, he made an end to that deluge of foulness and instituted the Baptism of regeneration, so that having been buried with him in Baptism, we may become partakers of his resurrection."[2] We have a few new features which particularize the typology of the Flood, especially the comparison of the ark with the Tomb. As for the theme of the ending of sin, this is brought before us by the very name of Noah, which signifies rest (*ἀνάπαυσις*). A last element connects the theme of the ogdoad of the Flood and that of the ogdoad of Psalm 6 round the common idea of penitence. "As the ogdoad had announced beforehand in the Law the resurrection of the dead and the reward of each according to his works, so David after sinning against Uriah was able to pray and beseech the ogdoad and the resurrection for the forgiveness of his sin" (448D). St Gregory of Nyssa has the same theme in connection with Psalm 6.

The quotations from St Justin have brought us into touch with a baptismal typology of the Flood which is the development of that in the First Epistle of St Peter, and this is characterized by the importance of the theme of the ogdoad. But side by side with this tradition we find another which lays weight on other characters and in particular gives a special importance to the theme of the dove. This tradition appears in the *De Baptismo* of Tertullian, who brings together so happily the traditional types of Baptism that we are justified in thinking they formed part of a primitive catechism: "As the dove was sent forth from the Ark after the Flood, the world's baptism so to speak, purifying it from all iniquity, and returning with an olive branch, a sign even among the gentiles of peace, announced peace upon earth; in the same way, but on a more spiritual level, the dove of the Holy Spirit came down upon earth, that is upon our flesh when it comes forth from the font after [the washing away of] its former sins, bringing the Peace of God, coming forth from the heavens where is the Church prefigured by the Ark" (*De Baptismo*, 8; P.L. I, 1209B). The outstanding fact in this typology is the symbolism of the dove,[1] which also puts us on the track of its origin. In the preceding passage Tertullian speaks of Christ's Baptism "in which the Holy Spirit came down on the Lord in the form of a dove, resting on the waters of Baptism, and so recognizing his ancient abiding place" (*De Baptismo*, 8).

We meet here another typological vein and yet one also based on the typology of the Old Testament. The dove which descended upon Christ at his Baptism, while it may be an allusion to the Spirit of God hovering over the primeval waters (Gen. 1, 2), seems to be also an allusion to the dove of the ark.[2] Patristic tradition has, then, very rightly seen in the Flood a type of Christ's Baptism, wherein he appeared as the new Noah on whom the Holy Spirit descends to reveal the reconciliation of God and man.[3] We

[1] M. Marcel Richard considers that Asterius the Sophist is the author of this homily and not Asterius of Amasea (*Symb. Osl.*, XXV, pp. 66-67).
[2] See also Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, XII, 15 and 19.

[1] This symbolism is found in writers like Pseudo-Cyprian, *ad Novatian.* 2, C.S.E.L., 55, 22-27, and Hippolytus, *Sermo in Theophania* (Achelis, p. 261).
[2] Barrett, *The Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition*, p. 39.
[3] Lundberg, *Typologie baptismale*, p. 73.

find this in St Cyril of Jerusalem: "There are some who say that as salvation came in the time of Noah through wood and water, with the beginning of a new creation, and the return of the dove in the evening bearing the olive branch, so, they say, did the Holy Spirit come down on the true Noah, the author of the new creation when the spiritual dove came down upon him at his Baptism to show that he it is who grants salvation by the wood of the cross to those who believe, and who gave in the evening salvation to the whole world" (P.G. XXXIII, 982A). This passage is very characteristic of St Cyril of Jerusalem who labours to find in the events of the Old Testament types of the life of Christ. But what particularly concerns us here is that he establishes the chain of events between the Flood and Baptism. The Flood is a type of Christ's Baptism, which is in its turn a type of the Baptism of each individual Christian, so much so that the dove of the Flood episode prefigures the descent of the Holy Spirit at Christ's Baptism.

The other marked characteristic of Tertullian's typology is that it shows us the ark as the type of the Church. We have already met this idea in Gregory of Elvira (*De arca Noe*, 6). It is not however Scriptural.[1] We shall not find it in St Justin for whom the wood of the ark typifies the wood of the cross. But it forms part of an extremely ancient sacramental catechesis, and may well go back to the first days of Christianity. It is found elsewhere in Tertullian: "*Qui in arca non fuit, in Ecclesia non sit*" (*De idol.* P.L. I, 696B). But it is especially St Cyprian who dwells on the theme in *De Unitate Ecclesiae*. "It is as possible for a man to be saved outside the Church as it was possible to be saved outside the ark of Noah" (6, C.S.E.L. 214), which is the beginning of the aphorism—"Outside the Church there is no salvation." The linking of this theme and that of Baptism appears frequently: "Peter, showing that the Church is one,

[1] St Jerome did think however that it was indicated in 1 Pet. 3.20. His words are: "The ark is interpreted by the apostle Peter as a figure of the Church" (*Epist.* 133; P.L. XXII, 1054).

and that only those who are in the Church can be saved, has said: 'In the ark of Noah a few, that is eight souls, were saved by water, whereunto baptism being of like form, now saveth you also'." He proves and testifies that the ark of Noah was the type of the one Church: "If, then, when the universe was baptized and so purified and redeemed someone could be saved outside the ark of Noah, it would now be possible for someone outside the Church to be quickened by Baptism" (*Epist.* LXVII, 2; C.S.E.L. 751). Cyprian is simply developing the typology of the First Epistle of St Peter. The same theme occurs in Epistle LXXIII, in which he adds that the Church "has been founded on the unity of the Lord, in the likeness of the one ark" (809, 10-12. See also *Epist.* LXXV, 15; C.S.E.L. 820, 13-24). St Jerome will merely echo this unanimous tradition when he writes: "The ark of Noah was the type of the Church" (P.L. XXIII, 185A).[1] It will also find its place in the Liturgy (*Const. Ap.*, II, 14, 9).[2]

This is the typology, established by Tertullian, that we shall find right through tradition. It is in direct dependence on Tertullian that Didymus of Alexandria takes up and develops these themes in his *De Trinitate*. We find there Elisha's axe, the pool of Bethsaida. The Flood also has its place. "The Flood which purified the world of its ancient wickedness was a hidden prophecy of the washing away of sins by the sacred pool. And the ark which saved those who entered it, is a type (ἐικών) of holy Church and the good hope which it brings to us. The dove which brought back the olive branch to the ark, indicating the presence of dry land, heralded the coming of the Holy Spirit and the reconciliation from on high: the olive branch is indeed the symbol of peace" (II; P.G. XXXIX, 696A-B). The symbolism appears henceforth as unchangeable. We may note that the early types, the eight people of the ark, for example,

[1] See also Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, XII, 17.
[2] See Lundberg, *La Typologie baptismale*, p. 76.

which correspond to earlier and outmoded conceptions, have disappeared, and those alone survive which retain their significance for men of a later time. The most characteristic is the olive branch, meaningless to the Jews and belonging to Graeco-Roman society. We may also note that the ark, which represents the cross for Justin, from now on represents the Church. We have passed from a Christological symbolism to an ecclesiastical. Symbolism will now concern itself with the vital factors of Christian life, the baptismal font and the Church.

We find analogous themes when we pass on to St Ambrose, who has a whole treatise on Noah. But it is primarily a moral exhortation, based on Philo, interpreted on moral and ascetic lines. If we wish to find in St Ambrose any evidences of liturgical tradition we must go to his *De Mysteriis* and *De Sacramentis*. We find in these a series of baptismal types, henceforward fixed. As with Tertullian and Didymus, the first is that of the Spirit born over the waters of Gen. 1:2; the third is the crossing of the Red Sea. The second is that of the Flood.

> Take another testimony. All flesh was corrupt by its iniquities. "My spirit", says God, "shall not remain among men, because they are flesh." By this God shows that the grace of the Spirit is turned away by carnal impurity and the pollution of grave sin. And so God, wishing to restore what was lacking, sent the flood, and bade Noah go up into the ark. And when the flood was passing off Noah first sent for a raven which did not return, then he sent forth a dove which returned with an olive branch. You see the water: you see the wood [of the ark] and you see the dove, and yet you hesitate as to the mystery (*De Myst.*, III, 10; P.L. XVI, 392B).

We find here all the chief symbols of Tertullian. And St Ambrose draws the proof of the type from the bringing together of the signs.[1]

[1] See also *De Sacram.* II, 6; XVI, 424 A-B.

We shall still find this traditional typology in St John Chrysostom. "The story of the flood is a mystery (μυστήριον) and the details are types of the future. The ark is the Church, Noah is Christ; the dove the Holy Spirit, the olive branch the divine philanthropy. As the ark in the midst of the waters protected those inside it, so does the Church protect those who have strayed. But while the ark took in brute animals and kept them as such, the Church takes a man who is without *logos*, and she does not merely keep him, she transforms him" (*Hom. Laz.* 6; P.G. XLVIII 1037-1038). This is the evidence of a writer little given to allegory, and therefore the more valuable in showing us that we are face to face with a common tradition. And further, in line with typological doctrine, the writer tells us how the reality surpasses the type, a point we have already met in St Irenaeus. All this evidence, borrowed from the rudimentary teaching of the Church, shows us to what degree the biblical types of the Sacraments were an integral part of early Christian mentality. For Christians of the early Church the story of the Flood was a pre-enacting of their own history: "In the Flood was implicit the mystery of man's salvation", writes St Justin. There is one last proof of the importance of the theme of Noah and the Flood in the earliest iconography. In the *Capella Greca*, the frescoes of which date back to the second century, the deliverance of Noah is represented along with that of Susanna and Daniel. These are not just representations of the soul saved from death by the miraculous intervention of God, though this may be the case with the representations of Noah on the sarcophagi.[1] But this is not the case with the catacomb frescoes. Rather, as Lundberg has shown, the deliverance of Susanna and Daniel are just as much types of Baptism as that of Noah. Early Christianity saw in Baptism a miracle of deliverance, and recognized its symbol in the principal types of deliverance in

[1] Wilpert, *Le fede della chiesa nascente secondo i monumenti dell' arte antica funeraria*, 1338, p. 218.

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the liturgy of the synagogue.[1] We have then a whole assembly of baptismal types. The drama of the Flood is a perfect type of Baptism, considered as a miraculous deliverance, according to early tradition. "The young man praying, safe in the ship, is the Christian who has entered the mystical ship, the Church, through Baptism. He overcomes the storm and steers full of confidence to the harbour. The second individual is Christ, with his nimbus, who guards the baptized. And the man struggling in the waters and nearly perishing is he who is not in the Church and therefore has no chance of salvation" (Wilpert, p. 129). We can also recognize in those frescoes in the catacombs, which portray a small person in a kind of chest, the κιβωτός on the edge of which perches a dove: it represents Noah in the ark to whom the dove of the Holy Spirit brings the grace of Baptism.[2]

[1] Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église*, p. 33.
[2] See A. G. Martimort, "L'Iconographie des catacombes et la catéchèse antique," *Riv. d'Arch. Christ.*, 1949, p. 11.

III

THE ALEXANDRIANS AND THE ALLEGORY OF THE ARK

With the two Alexandrian Fathers, Clement and Origen, we find both elements of early Christian tradition, eschatological and liturgical, and certain minor details utilized by tradition in their development. Origen is once more the great initiator, but we find a few details before him in Clement. In the *Stromata*, Bk. VI, ch. XI, Clement deals with the symbolism of numbers, after speaking of the dimensions of the ark. He was not the first to speak of this: Irenaeus had already discussed the measurements of the ark "which had been laid down by God" (IV, 10; 1000A). It appears that the Rabbis had already speculated on these measurements and that upon them Irenaeus depended. Gnosticism had also delved into the matter. Hippolytus will find here a symbol of the millennium (*Com. Dan.* IV, 24). Origen will tell us that they are redolent of heavenly mysteries (*Hom. Gen.* II, 3). But it was left to Clement to interpret these measurements along the lines of Pythagorean symbolism. He writes: "And geometry, through the gift of understanding, leads us from material things to those of the intellect. Let us take, for example, the building of the ark, carried out according to the divine instructions, according to certain measurements, charged with meaning. For the squared wood indicates that the square form, producing right angles, pervades all, and ensures security. And the length of the structure was 300 cubits and the breadth 50, and height 30; and above, the ark ends in a cubit, narrowing from the broad base

like a pyramid, the symbol of those who are purified and tested by fire" (*Strom.* VI, 11; Staehlin, p. 475). From this strange piece of symbolism we need only preserve the idea of a purification by fire (διὰ πυρός) associated with the Flood and symbolized by the pyramidical form (πυραμίδος τρόπον) of the ark. The image of a tetragon comes from Philo (*Vit. Moys.* II, 128). We notice that Clement associates the ideas of Flood and purification, following in this Plato (*Tim.* 22, C-E), whom he cites in the fifth Book (I, 9; Saehlin, p. 332). We have met here the junction of the Biblical Flood, the platonic Flood and the Stoic ἐκπύρωσις.

The continuation of this same passage has another interpretation of the dimensions of the ark, this time not eschatological but ecclesiastical, an interpretation which we ought to notice, for we shall find certain elements of it again in Origen.

> And this geometrical proportion has a place, for the transport of those holy abodes, whose differences are indicated by the differences of the numbers set down below. And the numbers introduced are sixfold, as 300 is 6 times 50; and tenfold, as 300 is 10 times 30; and containing one and two-thirds, for 50 is one and two-thirds of 30.[1] Now there are some who say that 300 cubits are symbols of the Lord's sign; and 50, of hope and of the remission given at Pentecost; and 30, or as in some manuscripts 12, they say, points out the preaching of the Gospel, because the Lord preached in his 30th year, and the Apostles were 12. And the structure terminating in a cubit is the symbol of the advancement of the righteous to oneness, and the unity of the faith (VI, 11, *Staelin*, 475).

This mystical geometry introduces us into the very essence of the Alexandrian approach, which is the same as that of the Gnostics and Philo. The only difference is that the

[1] The number 300 is indicated in Greek by the letter T. Because of its likeness with the Cross, it is seen as a sign of Christ. This has already appeared in the Pseudo-Barnabas: "As the cross in the form of a T signifies grace, the number 300 was added" (IX, 8).

underlying realities of the symbols are Christian. We shall find the same proceeding in Origen. The second Homily on Genesis is a basic text for our purpose. We shall see how Origen both echoes tradition as he knew it and develops the historical outline in which he discusses difficulties raised against the veracity of the story of the Flood, in particular the very limited size of the ark to contain so many species of animals. Apelles, a disciple of Marcion, ironically remarked that it could hardly hold four elephants. Origen sets out to answer this difficulty. This is an important point, for we see that he does not dream of contesting the historicity of the event but falls back on a symbolic interpretation. He lays down first the literal meaning of the text with the help of all the sources at his command. Then only does he pass on to the allegorical meaning. The story of the ark is not, then, just symbolical. There was a real ark which did once float on the waters, typifying the Church of the future, escaping from the flames of the great conflagration to come. Origen is here more literal than many of the literal exegetes of our own day, a point which Père de Lubac has made clear in his introduction to the *Homélies sur la Genèse*.

But it is only our penetration of the spiritual meaning which can bring grace; and Origen begins by invoking it. "While we call upon him who alone can lift the veil in our reading of the Old Testament, we will try to see what this building of the ark contains for our spiritual profit" (*Hom. Gen.* II, 3; Baehrens, p. 30). Then he gives a remarkable presentation of the traditional view: "I think, then, as far as the weakness of my understanding allows me, that the Flood, which was sent as it were to bring to its end this universe, is an image of the true and final end of this world." And he bases his statement on the important text in Matt. 24. "In this passage it evidently takes one and the same form, that of the Flood, which is past, and that of the end of the world which is to come. As Noah was told to make an ark, and to bring in with him not only his sons and daughters, but

also the various kinds of animals, so now our true Noah, who alone is just and perfect, Our Lord Jesus Christ, is told by his Father, at the end of time, to construct an ark of squared wood, of measurements full of heavenly mysteries (*sacramentis*)." The eschatological significance of the Flood could not be more definitely asserted. The time typified by the Flood, this "end of time", is at hand. That is why God has sent the true Noah, Christ, to build the ark of the Church to gather therein all nations. Origen cites in this sense the verse of Psalm 2: *Pete mihi et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam.* There is no contradiction between the Church and eschatology, for they both belong to the same order of reality. As the building of the ark preceded the Flood, equally must the building of the Church precede the coming judgement.[1] And if in course of time the interval which separates the building of the ark from the flood seems to increase, this is no reason, as the Second Epistle of St Peter remarks, for doubting the truth of the coming Judgement: but only a proof of the long-suffering of God. We meet here once more the approach of St Justin, in which Baptism is intimately connected with the Judgement, since the mystery of water and wood, which typifies the ark, is the means whereby we may escape the Judgement and reach the new Jerusalem, whose appearance will follow on earth this new flood.

Origen then touches on a new subject of symbolism, the comparison of the animals in the ark and "those who are saved in the Church". The animals are divided among various compartments, thus signifying the various degrees of perfection:

> As all have neither the same merit, nor is their progress in the faith (προκοπή) equal, so the ark did not offer equal accommodation for all . . . and this shows that in the

[1] This relationship between the building of the Church and the coming judgement is even more marked in St Hilary: "because of the coming judgement Christ hides his children in the ark of the Church" (*Tract. Myst.*, 1, 13; Brisson, p. 101).

> Church also, though all share the same faith and are washed by the same baptism, all do not equally advance and each one remains in his own class. Those who live according to the dictates of the knowledge (γνῶσις) of the Spirit, and are capable not only of governing themselves, but of instructing others, because they are few in number, are typified by the small number of those saved with Noah, as Jesus Christ, the true Noah, has few who are close to him in relation and intimacy to share in his word and understand wisdom.

Below come the different animals, representing the different degrees. "In thus ascending by the various stages of accommodation, we arrive at Noah himself, whose name means rest (ἀνάπαυσις) and righteous (δίκαιος), which is Jesus Christ." We meet here with ideas which are strictly Origenist and Alexandrian. The hierarchy of the Church is conceived not as an external priesthood but in accordance with its interior degrees of perfection. This idea of a hierarchy according to its προκοπή has already appeared in the *Eclogae Propheticae* of Clement.[1] We have passed from the official exegesis of the Church to a private and unofficial one.

We noted previously that Noah is considered explicitly as a type of Christ. Origen presses into service here two designations ἀνάπαυσις and δίκαιος which we know came from Philo. Both in their turn come from Genesis. Origen cites Gen. 5:29: "He shall comfort us concerning our work and toil." But he adds that this cannot apply to Noah. "How can it be true that Noah will give rest to Lamech or to the people then on earth, or how was there in the time of Noah an end to the sadness, or how was the curse upon the earth lifted (Gen. 5:29), seeing that the divine anger was revealed as very great. . . . But if you consider our Lord Jesus Christ of whom it is said: 'Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sin of the world' and 'Come to me, all ye that labour, and I will refresh you', you will find that

[1] Staehlin, pp. 153-154.

it is he who has truly given rest to the world and freed man from that curse" (II,3). This is a use of a common exegetical process, which consists in showing that what is said of one person in the sacred record does not strictly apply to him and must therefore apply to someone else. The words of Lamech are then a prophecy of Jesus Christ, to whom alone it can apply in strict truth. This passage occurs also in the *Tractatus Mysteriorum* of St Hilary (I, 13, 3). Justin had already alluded to the meaning of ἀνάπαυσις for Noah, and saw that in Christ alone could repose in the new Jerusalem be realized.

Origen next deals with the building of the ark: "It is to this spiritual (νοητός) Noah who has given rest to man and taken away the sin of the world that the order was given to build the ark with square columns." These square columns indicate firmness according to an idea which comes from Philo, and which we have found in Clement of Alexandria. Origen sees in this a type of the Doctors of the Church who fight against the assaults of the heretics. This idea is always present in the "Gnostic" point of view. Then he comes to the dimensions of the ark: "Before discussing the measurements, let us see what is the significance of the length, breadth and height. The Apostle, when he speaks most mystically of the mysteries of the Cross, says: 'That you may be able to comprehend with all the saints what is the length, the breadth and the depth.'" Before Origen, Irenaeus (*Dem. Apost. Preach.*, 34) and Hippolytus (P.G. LIX, 743), and after him St Gregory of Nyssa (XLVI, 621D) and St Cyril of Alexandria (LXIX, 65C) also see in this text of St Paul a revelation of a hidden mystery of the Cross, as the world's axis. But the application of the symbolism of the ark as adapted by St Cyril seems very similar to that of Origen. Origen notes that Genesis speaks of the height, while the Epistle to the Ephesians speaks of the depth: "This has the same meaning, save that in one case the measurement is taken from the bottom to the top and in the

other from the top to the bottom. By this does the Spirit of God reveal, through Paul and Moses, the type of great mysteries. Indeed, Paul, when he spoke of the mystery of Christ's descent, spoke of the depth, as a going from the heights to hell below: Moses, because he speaks of the restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) of those who have been brought by Christ from death and the corruption of this world, as from the catastrophe of the flood, to a higher and heavenly world, mentions in the measurements of the ark, not the depth, but the height."

Origen then passes on to the measurements in the strict sense. We have seen that these were an early Christian piece of symbolism in Clement and Irenaeus. Origen makes free use of the ideas of his forerunners. The length of 300 cubits unites 100 and 3. The number 100 indicates fullness and "contains the mystery of the totality of the Spiritual creation, as we read in the Gospel, when it is said that a man having a hundred sheep and losing one of them left the ninety-nine others and went to seek the lost one. . . . This 'hundredth', the fullness of Spiritual creation, does not subsist of itself, but proceeds from the Trinity and receives from the Father, through the Son and Holy Spirit, the *length* of life, that is the grace of immortality; it is because of this multiplied by three, so that having fallen from the 'hundred' through ignorance, it is restored in the three hundred by the knowledge of the Trinity." The breadth has fifty cubits, "because that number is consecrated to redemption and remission". It is the interpretation already given by Clement (VI, 11, 475) and comes from Philo (*De Mut. Nom.* 228). The number thirty contains the same "mystery" as 300. Lastly, the top of the building leads to the number one because 'one God is Father and Lord; there is one faith of the Church and one baptism", and "all things hasten to the one end of divine perfection" (ii, 5). Origen has worked out his own theology in these mysteries of the ark as Clement has previously worked out his.

The special characteristic of this tradition is the application of Philo's allegory; applied however to the mysteries of Christ and the Church,[1] a use which Origen calls the mystical sense. But side by side with this we meet in him, as we have already noticed in the Adamic typology, another interpretation, in which he follows Philo not only in method but in the details. This he calls the moral sense. The juxtaposition of the two interpretations is particularly clear in the Homily on the Flood: "Let us try," he writes, "to join a third interpretion to the two preceding. The first, the historical, is the very foundation of the other two. The second, the mystical, is more elevated and noble. We shall try to add a third, the moral" (*Hom. Gen.* II, 6; 36, 18-25). "The ark is the faithful soul (38, 9). It should be coated with bitumen within and without, that is, perfect in knowledge and works" (38, 7). Both clean and unclean animals have to be brought in. The former are "the memory, culture, understanding, reflexion and judgement upon what we read: the latter are desire and anger" (15-18). In the same way we see Philo in the *Quaestiones in Genesim* treat the ark as a type of the human body (II, 1). Bitumen is a type of the soul which unifies the body and maintains its various functions (II, 4). The clean animals are the seven powers of the soul, the five senses, speech and the generative faculty: the unclean animals are the ill uses that we can make of them (II, 12).[2]

This moral allegorizing of the Flood does, however, hold in Origen a secondary and limited place. It is with St. Ambrose that this theme, as also that of Adam, takes a preponderant place. The treatise *De Noe et Arca* is a

[1] Parallel, but independent developments will be found in St Augustine. In the *Contra Faustum* (P.L. XLII, 262 seq.; XII, 14-25), he offers a long interpretation of the Noahic typology. (See also *De Civit Dei*, XVI, 2; P.L. XLI, 477-479). In part some of the older themes of St Justin reoccur: salvation by water and wood signify baptism and the cross (XII, 14); the eight individuals signify the resurrection (XII, 15), the two sons are the two peoples (XII, 23). See Pontet, *L'exégèse de Saint Augustin*, p. 433.

[2] On the significance of Noah in Philo's works, see Goodenough, *By Light Light*, pp. 131-135.

treatise of allegorical anthropology in which the dependence on Philo is obvious at every point. Noah represents righteousness or repose, because it is righteousness which alone brings repose (I; 413, 16; *Quaestiones*, I, 87); Shem, Ham and Japhet represents good, bad and indifferent (II; 414, 11; *Quaest.*, I, 88); the ark represents the body with its dimensions and cavities (VI; 422-423; *Quaest.*, II, 2 and 3).[1] The Flood represents the passions (IX; 432; *Quaest.*, II, 7). We are quite obviously dealing here with something very different from typology. Philo had essayed to set forth a biblical philosophy of man by means of an allegorical exegesis of Scripture, as the Stoics did for Homer. Philosophy thus interpreted had a very wide range, but the method was artificial. We are in the realm of philosophy, not of exegesis. Origen to a certain degree, St Ambrose with much less restraint, have undertaken the task of grafting these ideas into the realms of Christian thought.[2] We must, then, distinguish in Origen's exegesis, and its development by his disciples, various kinds of exegeses. We find in them examples of the ordinary typological exegesis. In this they are the witnesses of tradition. We have given some striking examples from Origen and St Hilary. St Ambrose also affords us examples. Then we meet Philo's influence in the manner of approach which consists in seeking a spiritual sense in the whole Scriptures. This is an extension of typology to the realms where there is no proper foundation for it, as for example the development of the measurements of the ark. Then we reach a third stage, in which Origen and Ambrose depend not only on the method, but on the very details of

[1] This will pass from St Ambrose to St Augustine, *Contra Faust.*, XII, 14. For Augustine bitumen represents charity (XII, 14).

[2] It must not be forgotten that in addition to this moral interpretation we find in St Ambrose a traditional typographical exegesis of the Flood. We called attention to this above in connection with the sacramental exegesis. We find other examples in the *Exposito in Lucam*: "He who did not disdain to descend in the form of a dove at the baptism of Christ, has taught me of what the dove of the Ark was the type. He has taught me that in the olive branch and in the Ark were the types of peace and of the Church" (II, 92; cf. III, 48). We are in the tradition of Tertullian.

Philo's exegesis, and look for symbols in Scripture either of the universe or of the soul. Here we have left exegesis quite behind. But it was important to give examples of this method to show the radical distinction between true typological exegesis and that which is sometimes mistaken for it.

BOOK III

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

I

THE TYPOLOGY OF THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

BETWEEN Adam and Noah on the one hand and the institution of the Mosaic Law and all its typical cult on the other, we meet at the beginning of Israel's story the three great figures of the Patriarchs. For Jews and the early Christians, these are pre-eminently the "Fathers", the "Holy Ones". It is with them that the living God has made his covenant, and he is truly "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob". Jewish and Christian thought has ever loved to contemplate these sublime figures. The whole Jewish literature of the last centuries before Christ is a witness to the importance attributed to them.[1] Each generation looked at them from its own particular angle. Palestinian Judaism sees them through its legalist and priestly ideals and sets them up as models in the observance of righteousness according to the Law and their traditions. The Book of Ecclesiasticus (44: 19-23) gives them only a passing mention in connection with the covenant, but the Book of Jubilees develops at length their history, removing anything which could appear offensive and revealing them with sublime anachronism as perfect observers of the Mosaic Law. And Philo in his turn puts them to the forefront. For him they represent stages in the mystic ascent: Abraham is the virtue which comes from study, *μάθησις*; Jacob, that which is acquired by moral effort, *ἄσκησις*; while Isaac is virtue perfected, *τελείωσις*' which is entirely a gift of God, from the *φύσις* which is *αὐτομαθής* infused (e.g. *De Somniis*, i, 1, 25).

[1] Foot-Moore, *Judaism* (1927) 1, pp. 538 seq.

The earliest Christian literature had its roots deep in the Jewish mentality, and hence it is to be expected that the importance given to his theme will be passed on. The *haggadah,* which goes through sacred history to point the moral of this or that event passes over into Christian literature. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews produces a *haggadah* of faith in which we see the Patriarchs appear: "By faith he that is called Abraham, obeyed to go out into a place which he was to receive for an inheritance: and he went out not knowing whither he went . . . by faith Sara also herself, being barren, received strength to conceive seed, even past the time of age: because she believed that he was faithful who had promised . . . all these died according to faith, not having received the promises, but beholding them afar off . . . by faith also of things to come Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau. By faith Jacob, dying, blessed each of the sons of Joseph, and adored the top of his rod. By faith Joseph, when he was dying, made mention of the going out of the children of Israel" (Heb. 11:8-22). The Patriarchs already appear as foretelling and typifying things which are to come. We have passed from the moral *haggadah* to the typological *haggadah.* But the *Epistle of Clement,* with its pronounced Jewish flavouring, presents us still with the moral *haggadah*: "Let us fix our regard on those who have been such faithful ministers of his transcendent glory. . . . Abraham, the Friend of God, was found faithful in obeying the words of God. Lot was saved from Sodom because of his hospitality and piety" (X, 1; XI, 1). Another passage is devoted to the three Patriarchs: "Why was our Father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he performed righteousness and truth through faith? Isaac, knowing the future with confidence, was joyfully led forth as a victim. Jacob had the humility to leave his country because of his brother" (XXX, 2-4). These *haggadah* are also found in the liturgy of the synagogue and prayers of thanksgiving or petition. The mention of the former blessings of God and of his promises made to the Patriarchs is the ground for asking his help in the present. From thence they pass into certain early Christian anaphoras, as in the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions.[1]

It is a matter of considerable interest to ascertain what hierarchy has been established between these three Patriarchs. In Rabbinic tradition Abraham held a pre-eminent position (Foot-Moore, *Judaism,* I, p. 538). The Gospel also shows us how much the Jews valued their title of "Children of Abraham" (John 8:39). And in early Christian literature Abraham still plays a great part, but more particularly as a model of faith and "going forth" from the world. He is only rarely considered as a type (but see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* IV, 25, 1, and Origen, *Hom. Gen.* III, 4-7). The episode of the Oaks of Mambre, often commented upon by Justin, of which Origen says that it is *"totum mysticum, sacramentis repletum",* has a theological rather than a typological significance. From this point of view Jacob has greater importance. When he lists the names of Christ in the Old Testament in his *Dialogue with Trypho,* St Justin writes: "Christ is called Wisdom, Day, Orient, Sword, Stone, Staff, Israel, Jacob and many another epithet in the words of the Prophets" (*Dial.* c. 4). Jacob is the only person in the Old Testament whose name is a designation of Christ. Origen's *Commentary on St John* gives the same evidence. "Seizing the powerful enemy by the heel and alone seeing the Father, he is thus in his Incarnation both Jacob and Israel" (I, 35, 260). Origen, however, adds the name of Judah (259). The two facts to which Origen alludes are: the birth of Jacob holding Esau by the heel and the name of Israel which means "he who sees God".[2] We might also add the servitude of Jacob (Hilary, *Tract. Myst.* I, 1), in which Irenaeus sees a type of Christ

[1] Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western,* I, pp. 19-20.

[2] The etymology comes from Philo (*De Abrah.* 57), being based on Gen. 32:31. But it has no scientific value. See G. A. Danell, *Studies in the name Israel in the Old Testament,* Uppsala, 1945, p. 22.

making himself a servant (*servus*) to win not Rachel, but the Church. Lastly, Jacob's ladder, alluded to in the Gospel of St John (1:51). But in the typological approach it is undoubtedly Isaac who holds the first place, on account of his birth and sacrifice. He had already acquired this pre-eminent place in the contemporary Jewish literature of the early Christian centuries. As we have said, for Philo he always represents perfection. For he was not born according to the ordinary laws of birth, but through divine intervention. He represents "infused" virtue, *αὐτομαθής*, a purely divine operation, and his marriage with Rebecca typifies the union of virtue and wisdom. Hence it is his birth and marriage which are essential to the picture, while his sacrifice takes second place. We shall come back to this. On the other hand, in the Rabbinical literature the sacrifice of Isaac holds a prominent place; and under the name of Aqéda (work of binding) it forms part of the liturgical ritual. In the prayers for New Year's Day (Rosh Haschana) we read: "O thou Eternal, our God, regard the act of sacrifice, when Abraham *bound* his son on the altar. Do thou remember this day the sacrifice of Isaac on behalf of his posterity."[1] The sacrifice of Isaac is considered as having a meritorious power which is the source of the graces obtained later by his posterity. Israel's salvation appears then as obtained not so much by the anticipated merits of Christ, as by those of Isaac, who therefore takes a primary place in Jewish theology. "It is he, rather than the other Patriarchs, who is called Our Father, or the Redeemer of Israel."[2] In fact, it is very extraordinary that the Jewish doctrine emphasizes less the saving value of the sacrifice of Isaac as a proof of Abraham's faith than as a redemptive work accomplished by Isaac. Josephus bears witness (*Ant. Jud.* I, 232) to a tradition which makes Isaac consent voluntarily to his death. Though this is not mentioned in Scripture, he comes forward as voluntarily giving his life for his people. This idea is attributed to the Jews by St Athanasius (*Hom. Pasch.* VI, 8).

[1] Fiebig, *Rosh Haschana*, p. 57.
[2] Harald Riesenfeld, *Jésus transfiguré*, p. 93.

It is specially interesting to note the connection established between the sacrifice of Isaac and the departure from Egypt. The Paschal lamb appears as a memorial of the sacrifice on Mount Moriah.[1] "When I see the blood of the Paschal lamb, I see the blood of Aqéda also" (*Mechilta, ad Ex.*, VIII). This is a kind of inverted typology in which the essential event takes place at the beginning of Israel's history, and the Paschal lamb is seen as the memorial of that event; as the Eucharist is the memorial of the Cross and not prophetic of a future sacrifice of Christ. This interpretation of the sacrifice as an expiation for the people of Israel, the relation between the departure from Egypt and the sacrifice on Mount Moriah, the idea of the Paschal lamb as a memorial of the sacrifice of Isaac—all these themes are related to the Christian doctrine of the redemption by the sacrifice of Calvary so that the question of their influence must arise.[2]

But how are we to understand this influence? A number of recent authors, Israel Levi, Hans Joachim Schoeps, Harald Riesenfeld,[3] hold that these speculations are anterior to the Christian era, that they meet in the world of the Pharisees in which St Paul had been formed and from whom he borrows his theology of the Redemption. The last author to write on this matter, Hans Joachim Schoeps, endeavours to show that the sacrifice of Isaac was "a Jewish theological concept with which Paul was acquainted" and "that it formed the starting point for the development of his doctrine of the expiatory death of Christ the Messiah". This does not mean that St Paul developed in the strict sense of the

[1] Foot-Moore, *Judaism*, I, p. 540.
[2] See the parallel between Adam and Isaac, both of whom according to Jewish tradition died on Mount Moriah (Faustus de Riez, *Serm.* 19; C.S.E.L. 21, 290).
[3] Israel Levi, "Le sacrifice d'Isaac et la mort de Jésus", *Rev. Ét. Juives*, 64 (1912, II), pp. 161 seq.; Hans Joachim Schoeps, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Paul's Theology", in *Journal of Bibl. Studies*, Dec. 1946 pp. 385 seq; Harald Riesenfeld, *Jésus transfiguré, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsalienis*, 1947, pp. 86 seq.

word a typology of Isaac. But Schoeps refers to certain phrases which do seem to refer to the narrative of Genesis, e.g. "He that spared not (ἐφείσατο) even his own Son" (Rom. 8:32). Origen had already remarked that this seems a reference to Genesis 22:16. There could also be an allusion, though less direct, between Romans 3:25 (προέθετο) and Genesis 12:8. Schoeps concludes from these few instances that Jewish theology did have an influence on the Pauline theology of the redemption. But this theory comes up against a difficulty already raised by M. Médebielle:[1] all the texts in which the *theology* of Isaac's sacrifice appears as fully developed are a good deal later than the Christian era, though doubtless they could reproduce earlier traditions. But these latter may well have been unconsciously influenced by the Christian ideas; furthermore, even if the allusions to the Genesis narrative seem certain, do they not suppose that Jewish theology has influenced theirs?[2] It must be admitted that the narrative of Genesis is particularly suggestive and one cannot read it without being struck by the extent to which it applies to Christ. The miraculous birth of Isaac was the consequence of Yahweh's promise (21:2). Laughter and rejoicing are signified by his name (21:6). He receives the inheritance, to the exclusion of his elder brother, born of the slave girl (22:2). He carries the wood of sacrifice (22:6). But equally with the parallelism, the narrative brings out the differences, the essential distinction between type and reality: Isaac was born miraculously; but not of a virgin, simply of a barren woman; the sacrifice is staged, but not accomplished. We shall see the importance of this last point. It was natural that the sacramental fullness of this narrative should be seen.

[1] Médebielle, *L'expiation dans l'Ancien Testament*, pp. 264 seq.

[2] This does not deny that some Christian writers have been influenced by the Rabbinic interpretation. Thus Hippolytus of Rome writes: "Isaac offers his life for the world" (*Com. Cant.* II, pp. 1 seq.) Melito of Sardis speaks of the "bonds" of Isaac (P.G. V, 215) which recalls the literal sense of the word Aqéda. See also *Homily on the Passion*, edited by Campbell-Bonner, §57; Clement of Rome, *Epist.* XXI:3.

Does this mean, then, that St Paul's attention has not been drawn towards the episode of Isaac by the place it held in contemporary Jewish theology? On the contrary, it seems to us very probable. In fact, it has to be recognized that if we find no trace before St Paul of a theology of the sacrifice of Isaac considered as an expiatory sacrifice for Israel, on the other hand the narrative itself, as a model of obedience and the faith, holds an important place in Jewish literature anterior to the Christian era, e.g. in the Book of Jubilees (17:15; 18:19), the *Antiquities of the Jews* of Josephus (I, 222-236), and the Fourth Book of Machabees (13:12; 16:20). We agree here wholeheartedly with the statement of Harald Riesenfeld: "The importance given to the narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac in Jewish literature cannot be attributed to Rabbinical reaction to the Christian doctrine of the Redemption, but is of much earlier origin, as is proved by the fact that the sacrifice of Isaac figures to a certain extent in texts which are earlier than the Christian Church" (p. 87). We come then to the conclusion, which agrees with that to which our study of our types of the Old Testament has led us, that the exegesis of the Old Testament in the early Church is largely a continuation of Jewish exegesis such as one finds in the last books of the Old Testament and in the writings of Judaism just before the Christian era. But Christianity brings a completely new content to this exegesis when it sees there the figure of Christ.

Even if the Old Testament does offer a theology of Isaac, we do not, strictly speaking, find its development into typology. Riesenfeld's hypothesis, which sees in Isaac a prefiguring of the suffering Messiah, can hardly be said to hold good for the pre-Christian era.[1] In this case both the typology and its application to Christ appear only in Christian theology. The story of Isaac contains two typological points; his *birth* and *sacrifice*, and these will be commented upon

[1] Cullmann, *Gesù servo di Dio*, Rome, 1948, p. 5.

continuously by the catechetical tradition of the Church. But it is noticeable that they are already marked in the New Testament, which will provide for subsequent tradition the typological interpretation which has only to be developed. As Origen, speaking of these very Patriarchs, says, the New Testament "provides opportunity for the spiritual understanding by signs, few indeed in number, but very necessary" (*Hom. Gen.* XI, 7).

In the Epistle to the Galatians, St Paul tells us that Isaac's birth is a type of Christ. "To Abraham were the promises made and to his seed. He saith not, And to his seeds, as of many: but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ" (3:16). He develops this in the allegory (his own word) of the two sons: "For it is written that Abraham had two sons: the one by a bond-woman, and the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bond-woman was born according to the flesh: but he of the free woman was by promise. Which things are said by an allegory. For these are the two testaments. . . . Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise" (Gal. 4:22-28). Here is a theme much beloved in the early Church. The substitution of the younger for the elder which we find in various places in Scripture was considered as the type of the substitution of the Christian people for its elder brother the Jewish people. We cannot fail to see here one of the most striking roots of typology in the history of Israel. Origen refers to some of these types: *Ismael primus est, secundus Isaac et similis in secundo praelationis forma servatur. Hoc et in Esau et Jacob, in Ephrem et Manasse et in mille aliis similiter invenis adumbratum* (*Hom. Gen.* IX 1; p. 83, 29-30); Hilary also sees in the "ortus Isaac" one of the great "sacramenta" (*Tract. Myst.* I, 17).

As for the *immolatio* it would seem that Abraham's sacrifice of his only son was at the back of St Paul's mind when he said, "He that spared not even his own Son" (Rom. 8:32), as we remarked above. But of much greater typological significance is a passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered Isaac; and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son (to whom it was said: In Isaac shall thy seed be called): Accounting that God is able to raise up even from the dead. Whereupon also he received him for a parable" (11:17-19). The author notices at first the essential motive of the trial: Isaac being the fruit of God's promise, God appears thus to destroy his promise. But more significant still for us is the conclusion. Abraham offers his son, thus destroying the promise, which is a type of the Passion, and an apparent defeat: but he believes that God is powerful to raise him, and because of his belief in God's power he receives him back, which is a type of the Resurrection. Two aspects of the mystery of Christ are typified at once: the Passion by the offering and the Resurrection by the receiving back. And further, as Tertullian noted, the fact that the sacrifice was not actually offered, shows that it was done in type. It will be carried out only in Jesus Christ (*Adv. Marc.* III, 18). So, for instance, the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies each year, but did not remain there, and this repetition shows that it is nothing more than repetition, a representation, and not in any way the reality.

These themes will occur again in early Christian literature. The Pseudo-Barnabas writes: "Christ had to die for our sins, so that the type of Isaac's sacrifice might be fulfilled" (VII, 3). St Justin makes no allusion to the sacrifice of Isaac, but shows us one of the three who appeared at Mambre announcing (εὐαγγελιζόμενος) to Sara that she will have a son (*Dial.* LVI, 5). Irenaeus speaks of it several times: "Since indeed Abraham, according to his faith, having followed the commandment of God's Word, did with a ready mind give up his only begotten and beloved son, for a sacrifice unto God: that God again might be well pleased to offer unto Abraham's whole seed his only begotten and dearly beloved Son to be a sacrifice for our redemption. Abraham there-

fore did greatly exult being a Prophet, and seeing by the Spirit the day of the Lord's Advent, and the ordering of his Passion" (*Adv. Haer.* IV, 5, 4).[1] There is a reference in another passage, "Justly then, do we also, having the same faith with Abraham, take up our cross, as Isaac his wood, and follow. For in Abraham mankind had learned before, and had been used to follow the word of God" (*Adv. Haer.* ib.). The emphasis is on the pedagogic nature of the type, but the reference to the cross in connection with the wood of Isaac is clear.

Isaac's sacrifice is commented upon by Tertullian in two passages of exceptional importance. He writes, in listing the types of the Passion, "I will speak first of the types of the Passion. For this mystery (*sacramentum*) ought above all to be prefigured in Prophecy: the more unbelievable it was, the greater the stumbling block, if it had been openly preached: but the more wonderful it was, the more it had to be veiled (*obumbrandum*) so that the difficulty in understanding it might lead us to seek the grace of God. That is why, in the first place, when Isaac was delivered by his father, he carried the wood himself, signifying in this way the death of Christ who is accepted by the Father as a victim and who carried the wood of his cross" (*Adv. Marc.* III, 18; *Adv. Jud.* 10). The symbolism here is quite straightforward. Isaac, sacrificed by his father, and carrying the wood, typifies Christ offered by the Father and carrying his cross. Another detail introduces us to a more unusual symbolism, though as we shall see it is also very archaic. "Isaac, when commanded by God to offer himself, himself carried the wood for the sacrifice. But as these things were types (*sacramenta*) the fulfilment of which was reserved for the time of Christ,

[1] These last words are an allusion to the words of Christ. "Abraham saw my day and rejoiced" (John 8:56). St Chrysostom explicitly refers this to the understanding which Abraham had of the prophetic sense of Isaac's sacrifice (*Hom. Gen.*, XLVII, 3; P.G. LIII, 432), Hoskyns, in his *Commentary on St John*, without applying the word to the sacrifice of Isaac, thinks that the Fathers are right in seeing therein a knowledge which Abraham had in *his lifetime*, of the mystery of Christ (pp. 347-48).

Isaac was also preserved with the wood, the ram which was caught by its horns (*cornibus haerens*) in a bush being offered instead; so in due time Christ bore the wood on his shoulders, being hung from the ends (*cornibus*) of the cross, with a crown of thorns on his head" (*Adv. Jud.* 13).

This text needs certain clarifications. On the one hand it is important with regard to the doctrine of typology. A type is an event which offers likeness to something in the future, but yet does not really fulfil this something. This is particularly the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Tertullian underlines this double aspect in the sacrifice of Isaac. It is in very deed a type of the Passion, and yet there is an unfulfilled type,[1] for while he carried the wood, type of the Passion, he is not himself offered, showing that the offering itself was "reserved". The ram was offered in his place and so became literally the type of the sacrifice. We have here an echo of the mysterious phrase in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "he received him for a parable". But whereas the Epistle refers this to the Resurrection, Tertullian understands it of the typical signification itself. We see here in a special case how the type must bear a resemblance to what is typified and at the same time show clearly that it is nothing more than a type and not the reality itself. St Hilary has brought this out very well in connection with another sign, the hand of Moses: "The following sign expresses very clearly (*explevit*) the truth (*fides*) of the resurrection by an apparent similarity (*specie imitationis*). For when his hand which he thrust into his bosom became white as snow, it was signified that we who rest in the bosom of our fathers, of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, must be enlightened, the nature of our body being swallowed in the appearance (*speciem*) of glory and honour. But when the hand was put again into the bosom and returned to its former

[1] Melito interprets this distinction differently: "the ram was offered on behalf of Isaac the Righteous One, to free him from his bonds: the Lord has saved us by his death . . . Christ suffered, Isaac did not suffer; he is a type of the Lord's Passion" (P.G., V, 1215).

state, it teaches us that what the sign prefigured was not yet accomplished in reality" (*Tract. Myst.* 1, 31). In the same way Isaac satisfied our aspirations in presenting us with an apparent likeness of the Passion, and yet only temporarily because Isaac came back to what he was before. The type is like a flash of lightning which lightens the gloom of the future but without in any way changing the present order of things.

One other feature demands explanation in the passage of Tertullian: the typology of the Passion is as it were divided between Isaac and the ram, and the latter caught by the horns was a type of Christ crucified. This idea which seems so strange to us is found in the exegesis of another passage of Scripture (Deut. 33: 16-17), Moses' blessing of Joseph. "Let the blessing of him that appears in the bush come upon the head of Joseph. His beauty is as of the firstling of a bullock, his horns as the horns of a rhinoceros (unicorn) . . ." St Justin comments:

> No one can say or prove that the horns of a unicorn belong to any other figure than the type which represents the cross; for the one post is upright from which the topmost part is lifted up like a horn, when the other is fitted to it, and when the ends appear on each side as horns coupled on to that one horn; and that which is fixed in the middle, upon which those who are crucified are mounted, also projects like a horn and it too looks like one, when put into shape and fixed with the other horns. And the words "he shall push the nations together from the ends of the earth" are plainly descriptive of what is done now among the nations; for the men from all nations were pushed by the horns, that is were pricked through this mystery, and turned from their vain idols and devils to the worship of God. (*Dial.* XCI, 1-3; see CV, 2. Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* III, 18; *Adv. Jud.* 10).[1]

[1] We can see what is the origin of these symbolical developments. The word *cornua* designates the extremities of the transversal limb. An analogy thus arises between the horns of the ram and the cross which is made of a vertical stake with transverse bar. Tertullian develops this on the ram of Mount Moriah which was caught by its horns, and so typified Christ. There has been a remarkable study of this symbolism by Fr. Hugo Rahner in *Griechische Mythen in Christlicher Deutung* (Zurich, 1945, pp. 414 seq). It shows its connection with the theme of the Cross considered as the mast of the barque of the Church.

One last point remains to be noted. Christ carries the wood; the ram typifies Christ hanging on the horns (extremities) of the cross, a crown of thorns on his head. This has not been explained, though its significance is clear enough. The narrative of Genesis tells us that the ram was caught by the horns in the brier-thicket. These briers suggest to Tertullian the crown of thorns. St Augustine also puts forward the idea. "What does this prefigure, if not that Jesus, before being sacrificed, was crowned with thorns?" (*Civit. Dei*, XVI, 38). It is a further elaboration of the tradition which saw in the ram a type of Christ crucified. We can then expect to find this theme again in iconography. The text of Tertullian provides us with a key to the symbolism on a sarcophagus at Arles, in which we see the ram, type of Christ crucified, hung by its horns from a tree, type of the cross.[1] The theme is similar to that of the Paschal lamb which according to St Justin was also offered in the form of a cross (*Dial.* XL, 2, 2). The bush also calls forth the idea of the crown of thorns in St Clement of Alexandria (*Ped.* II, 8, 75), but in his case it is rather the burning bush. Still it is an interesting analogy. St Cyril of Jerusalem (P.G. XXXIII, 793C) finds a type of the crown of thorns in the thorns of Gen. 2: 18. This rounds off the sacramental richness of Tertullian's text.

The two Pauline themes of *ortus* and *immolatio* occur right through the whole of tradition. In the Western Church St Cyprian alludes to both in the *Liber Testimoniorum*; chapter XX is headed: "That the Church, which had before been barren, should have more sons from out of the Gentiles, than ever the Synagogue before had had" (I, 20; C.S.E.L. 52, 4-6). He goes on: "So also to Abraham [who already had a son born of a bond woman] Sarah remained a long time barren, and late in age bore her son Isaac by promise

[1] Le Blanc, "La connaissance des Livres Saints et les artistes chrétiens des premiers siècles" in *Mem. Ac. Inscript.* XXXVI, 2 (1899), p. 11.

who was a *type of Christ*" (689A). We are following St Paul here; St Cyprian only adds that Isaac is a type of Christ. Elsewhere he refers to the sacrifice: "Isaac who was a type of the Divine victim, when he offered himself to be sacrificed by his father, revealed his patience" (*De bono patientiae,* X; C.S.E.L. 404, 5). The passages of St Hilary's *Tractatus Mysteriorum* which deal with Isaac are much mutilated, but we do find echoes of the great *sacramenta*: "Sarah typifies the Church and Agar the Synagogue" (I, 17). "In Isaac, Christ is shown, in whom his nation is chosen. The Passion was also prefigured in him when called by his father to be sacrificed, when he carried the wood of sacrifice and when the ram was found present for the completion of the sacrifice" (I, 17). The whole text of Tertullian is found embedded in the condensed style of Hilary. St. Zeno of Verona mentions both the *ortus* and the *immolatio*. "The spotless birth of Christ is in keeping with his dignity, but the manner of his birth is more mysterious . . . as the evil ones had led Isaac to the altar though he was not to suffer, so did they lead Christ to the cross to be exalted in glory. As with Isaac, it was one who was offered and another who was sacrificed, so in the Passion of Christ what had sinned in Adam is freed by Christ" (*Tract.* II, 11; P.L. XI, 424B-425A). Augustine will in his turn say "the deed is so celebrated, that, hymned in many languages, painted in so many places, it strikes the ears and the eyes even of those who seek to fly from it" (*Contra Faust.* XXII, 73; P.L. XLII, 446).[1]

The tradition of the Greek Fathers is very similar, though with their greater theological preoccupation they see in

[1] The popular nature of this scene appears from its importance in iconography. See Wilpert, "Das Opfer Abrahams", *Rom. Quart. Schr.* 1 (1887), pp. 126 seq.; Alison Moore Smith, "The Iconography of the Sacrifice in early Christian Art", *American Journal of Archeology,* 26 (1922), pp. 159 seq. It is found at a very early date. It also has a place in the paintings of the Capella Graeca of the early second century, discovered by Wilpert (Wilpert, *Fractio panis*. p. 65). A description of some of these reproductions will be found in D.A.C.L., art *Isaac,* VII. 2, Col. 1553 seq. St Gregory of Nyssa describes a fresco representing this scene in one of his sermons (P.G., XLVI, 565 C-D).

Isaac the divinity of the only Son, in the kid the human nature of the Lamb who was sacrificed. For example, St Athanasius: "When Abraham offered his son he adored the Son of God, and when he was forbidden to offer Isaac, he saw in the lamb Christ who was offered to God" (*Festal Lett.* VI, 8; P.G. XXVI, 1387B). St Gregory of Nyssa develops the theme in a very beautiful passage, summing up all earlier tradition: "The whole mystery of faith can be seen in the story of Isaac. The lamb is fixed to the tree, suspended by its horns: the first-born carries upon him the wood for the sacrifice. He, then, who upholds the universe by the word of his power, is the same who bears the burden of our wood, and is hung up on the wood, upholding as God, and carried as the lamb, the Holy Spirit having in figure divided the mystery between the two, the only son and the lamb who appears at his side. In the lamb is revealed the mystery of death and in the only son the life which will never be cut short by death" (*Hom. Res.* I; P.G. XLVI, 601C-D).

Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa are Alexandrians, but their exegesis is exactly that of the whole Church. We find it just the same in the Antiochene School. St John Chrysostom, after speaking of the sacrifice of Isaac, continues:

> All these things were types of the cross. That is why Christ said: Abraham rejoiced that he might see my day: he saw it, and was glad. How did he see it, considering that he was born so many years before? In type (τύπος) and in shadow (σκία). A lamb was offered for Isaac, and a spiritual lamb was offered for the world. The reality had to be depicted beforehand in type. Consider, I beg you, to what extent everything had been told in advance. In both instances we have an only son; in both instances one who is greatly loved. The first was offered as a victim by his father, and so was the latter offered by the Father (Rom. 8:32). The type carries us a long way, but how much further does the reality go. (*Hom. Gen.*, XLVII, 3; P.G. LIII-LIV, 432 A-B).

Theodoret also, who certainly will not be suspected of any partiality for allegory, writes in his turn: "All these were shadows of the economy of our salvation. The Father offered his well-beloved Son for the world: Isaac typified the divinity; the ram the humanity: even the length of time is the same in both cases, three days and three nights" (*Quaest. in Genes.*, 74; P.G. LXXX, 181D-184A).[1]

[1] St Thomas Aquinas is only echoing tradition when he puts the sacrifice of Isaac and the Pascal lamb among the leading types:

In figuris praesignatur
Cum Isaac immolatur.

II

THE ALLEGORY OF THE MARRIAGE OF ISAAC

HITHERTO we have met the primitive tradition in its unadulterated state. But the cycle of the Patriarchs, more than any other, came to be strongly touched by Philonian influence, to such an extent that in the great commentators from the third century the two streams meet. We have already mentioned the position that the Patriarchs, especially Isaac, hold in Philo. It is necessary to return for a moment to this last point. We saw that for him Isaac represented perfect virtue, which is a natural (φύσις) gift,[1] in contrast to Jacob who represents moral striving (ἄσκησις) and to Abraham who represents intellectual discipline (μάθησις). The name Isaac, meaning laughter (γέλως καὶ χαρά, *Leg. All.* III, 219), marks his genial disposition: he alone is "intellect without emotion" (ἀπαθής, *Quod. Det.* 46), "of illustrious descent" (*De Cher.* 8): "perfected grace" (χάρις τελειοτάτη, *De Cher.* 107), "product of the unbegotten" (ἀγένητος, *Quod. Det.* 124). Isaac is thus the type of the perfect man, possessing ἀπάθεια in its fullest, completely alien to all things of the senses, and this not by striving, but by nature (φύσις). He is ἀπαθής. The unbegotten, the Father of the universe, achieves virtue in him directly. He achieves perfect happiness (χαρά).

But it is particularly notable that what especially attracts the attention of Philo in the story of Isaac is his birth and

[1] Völker has emphasized the ambiguity of this idea of φύτις, borrowed from the Aristotelian classification to designate what is with Philo really a grace (χάρις). *Fortschritt und Vollendung bei Philon von A.*, p. 155 seq.

marriage. Isaac's birth was as we saw for St Hilary a "mysterium", and Philo describes it in strangely similar terms: it is a mystery, that is, an event charged with hidden significances of a particularly important nature. In the *De Cherubim,* just as he begins to explain this theme, he writes, "In order that we may describe the conception and parturition of virtues, let the superstitious either stop their ears, or else let them depart, for we are about to teach those initiated persons who are worthy of the knowledge of the most sacred mysteries (θεῖα μυστήρια), the whole nature of such divine and secret ordinances" (*De Cher.* 42). And he concludes, "Now I bid ye, initiated men, whose ears are purified, to receive these things, as mysteries which are really sacred, in your inmost souls; and reveal them not to any one who is of the number of the uninitiated, but guard them as a sacred treasure" (48). This is the vocabulary of a mystery language. Does Philo wish to present Jewish doctrine under the form of a mystery? Is he the hierophant of a Jewish mysticism? That is certainly the thesis of Pascher[1] and Goodenough.[2] But it seems that he aimed, as Festugière[3] has shown, at a literary presentation, presenting the doctrine in a vocabulary borrowed from the mystery cults, but not considering it as a mystery in the strict sense. Fr Cerfaux has very well said,[4] "There is very largely a literary element in Philo's attitude to the mysteries". The excellent remarks of H.-Ch. Puech in his review of Goodenough's books[5] should also be read.

Like the Christians, Philo has fixed his attention on the mysterious circumstances of the birth of Isaac. It is perhaps this circumstance ("God is his father and his birth is

[1] Ἡ βασιλικὴ ὁδός *Der Königsweg zu Wiedergeburt und Vergottung bei Philon von A.*, 1931.

[2] *By Light Light, The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism*, 1935, pp. 199 seq.

[3] *L'Idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile*, pp. 116-132.

[4] "Influence des Mystères sur le Judaisme Alexandrin avant Philon", in *Museon*, 37 (1924), pp. 29-88.

[5] *Rev. Hist. Relig.* 116 (1937) pp. 93-99. See also Wolfson, *Philo*, 1, p. 45.

virginal") "which has led," according to H.-Ch. Puech (*art. cit.*, p. 93) "the Christian copyists to suppress in Philo's works the *De Isaac,* and in the *Quaestiones in Genesim* the sections relating to him." But in the "virgin birth" Philo does not see a type of the birth of Christ, nor does he see in Isaac a type of the nation which is to supplant the Jewish people, but finds there an allegory of the mystery which is his and which is that of the begetting of virtues. Abraham, type of the soul who passes from the world of appearances to that of realities,[1] first marries Agar who typifies human culture, the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία (*De Congress.* 14); then he marries Sara, whose name means princess (ἡγεμονίς), and who is the perfection of virtue. But God himself, not Abraham, is the father of Isaac. "God is the author of laughter and joy, so that we must not think of Isaac as of normal birth, but as the offspring of the Unbegotten. If Isaac means laughter, it is God who causes the laughter, according to the trustworthy testimony of Sara, and he ought then logically to be called the father of Isaac" (*Quod. Det.* 124). Such is the meaning of the hidden mystery of Isaac's birth.

The second incident which occupies Philo is Isaac's marriage.[2] As he is himself the offspring of a marriage full of mystery between Abraham and Sara, so is his own marriage full of significance. In passing we may note that the series of the patriarchal marriages are for Philo a doctrine reserved to the initiate. It will be of interest to compare with him the

[1] For Abraham, see *Leg. All.*, iii 84-97, 244, *Quod det. pot. insid. soleat.* "Do you not see that when Abraham left his country, his parents and his father's house, he began to light upon the powers of Being" (159); *De post Caini*, 17; *De Gig.*, 62.

[2] Isaac's sacrifice is scarcely mentioned in Philo's works. In the *De Abrahamo* he shows his superiority over the λυτήρια, the sacrifices of deliverance that we find in Jewish and Greek history (184). The comparison occurs in Origen (*C. Cels.* I, 31). Elsewhere he shows that Abraham made an entire offering of himself in this sacrifice: "He offers to God Isaac, the beloved son of his soul, a pure image of infused Wisdom" (*Quod Deus imm.* 4). The disappearance of the sections dealing with the sacrifice in the *Quaesliones* may be due, as those which concern his birth, to Christian scribes, as Goodenough remarks (*By Light Light*, p. 155).

texts of Irenaeus and Justin, which also present the marriages of the Patriarchs as full of mysteries. St Justin writes in the *Dialogue*: "In the marriages of Jacob certain divine plans and prophecies were fulfilled; these I will explain to you, that you may know that your teachers never consider what is divine in the purpose for which things are done, but look rather to earthly and corrupt passions. The marriages of Jacob were types of what would be fulfilled in Christ. . . . Lia represented your people and the synagogue, Rachel is a type of the Church" (CXXXIV, 2). Irenaeus plays on the same theme: "As Jacob was to be the type of the Lord of a multitude of sons, it was necessary that he should have sons by two sisters. . . . But he did all for the sake of the younger, Rachel, who was of beautiful countenance, the type of the Church, for which Christ suffered. For he, Christ, was by his Patriarchs and Prophets prefiguring and foretelling things to come, taking beforehand his part in God's ordained ways, and training his heritage to obey God, and to be strangers in the world, and to follow his Word, and to fore-signify what is to come" (*Adv. Haer.* IV, 21, 3; P.G. VIII, 1045C). The marriage of Isaac and Rebecca is considered as a mystery by the Pseudo-Barnabas (XIII, 2). "Rebecca is a type of the Church, as Isaac is a type of Christ" (*De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 3; C.S.E.L. 106). The importance of this theme, both with Philo and the Fathers, is due to the fact that it presents at the highest level the problem of the Old Testament: must it be taken literally or must we give it a symbolical meaning? Philo's answer was in terms of allegory, the answer of the Fathers was through typology. More drastically the Book of Jubilees expurgated awkward passages.

But to return to Philo. He shows that Abraham, the *μάθησις*, had two wives representing profane knowledge and the perfection of virtue. Jacob also had two wives, Rachel and Lia, and in addition two concubines, Bala, the life of the body, and Zelpha, speech. For Jacob, as one who strives, the *ἀσκητής*, needs these helps.

> But it is not with several wives, but with the one woman, a virgin, whom he married, that Isaac lives continuously. Why? Because virtue which is acquired *(διδακτική)*, in which Abraham shares, needs many kinds of instruction. And equally so that which is acquired by discipline. But the generation taught by itself (*ἀυτομαθής*), to which Isaac belongs, which shares in perfect joy, has need neither of discipline nor instruction. When God pours forth as rain from on high his infused (*ἀυτομαθὴς καὶ ἀυτοδίδακτον*)[1] gifts, it is impossible to continue with the accomplishments of slaves and concubines. One who has obtained this infused gift must be regarded as the "husband" of a royal and sovereign virtue. It is called by the Greeks *patientia* (*ὑπομονή*), by the Hebrews, Rebecca. When a man has found wisdom without toil and difficulty, simply through natural qualities, he seeks no further improvement. He has by his natural endowment the best gifts of God. He has for his use God's perfect gifts, inspired by those ancient graces; he is anxious to preserve them and to that end makes his prayer[2] (*De Congressu erud. et gratiae*, 35-36).

We can understand better now the mystery hidden in the allegory of the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca. Philo describes, as he works through the story of the Patriarchs, the ascent of the soul from the world of sin and the body (Chaldea, Egypt) to that perfection, which is the possession of "Sophia". The first stages are represented by Abraham and Jacob, needing human means, worldly knowledge (Agar) or the efforts of asceticism (Rachel). By their means the soul rises from the bondage of the senses; it is the time of progress, of *προκοπή*, to use the word Philo borrows from the Stoics. But it is only a stage. The perfection which is the end of all progress is *σοφία*, which is beyond the purely human

[1] The translation "infused" would seem to be the best for *αὐτομαθής*. It brings out the opposition between the infused knowledge of Isaac and the acquired knowledge of Abraham and Jacob. It also emphasizes that it can be acquired without labour, naturally as it were, "and yet all the time it is a pure grace".

[2] The Greek word is *ὑπομεῖναι* which alludes to the name of Rebecca (*ὑπομονή*).

level. To obtain this, we must go beyond ourselves: "He who goes beyond himself sees God. Raising his eyes heavenwards, he learns to receive the manna, the divine Logos, the heavenly and incorruptible nourishment of the contemplative life" (*Quis rerum div. her.*, 78). This is a gift, an inspiration, which comes upon the soul and lifts it out of itself: "The wise man does not need to strive, for wisdom was given to him at his birth. It flows from heaven and gives to him a sober rapture" (*De fuga et inventione*, 166). This is exactly what is signified by the mystical marriage of "Isaac and Rebecca" which is "Sophia". "It obtains for Isaac the vision of God, which makes him θεοφόρος."[1] For Philo, then, the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca contains the whole mystery of the mystical ascent, and the whole mystery of "Sophia". It is the very heart of his system, reserved for the initiated.

A whole stream of Patristic tradition shows us the union of the Pauline typological "mystery" with the Philonian allegorical "mystery". While borrowing from Philo his principle, quite unexceptionable in itself, of a hidden meaning in the whole Bible, the Christian exegesis of Alexandria will give to these themes a meaning which is quite beyond the allegorizing of Philo. It will endow them with the whole mystery of Christ, who is truly the "fullness of grace". The marriage of Isaac and Rebecca will be seen as a type of the union of Christ and the Church. In Origen and Gregory of Nyssa the influence of Philo will give an "interiorness", a reflective depth, which normal typology was inclined to overlook, though it was a legitimate development; with a result that there was a danger of a dry repetition of the same idea. We see here the mutual impact of two planes of action; the evolution of history and of the individual soul, in an antithesis the solutions of which may seem to us over simplified. They are but part of the mentality of the time. But the problem does not diminish. There was the danger

[1] H.-Ch. Puech. *loc. cit.*, p. 94.

that history would lose its inner meaning in scientific accuracy, while the "interiorness" might cancel out the historical side. The remarkable balance that we find in Origen enables the two aspects to go together, so that the person of Isaac can be considered both in its inner meaning and its historical significance, in the microcosm or the macrocosm. Christian culture is thereby a keyboard. A single theme, that of Isaac, can be considered either as an historical event or as the fulfilment of that event in the historical Christ, or in the inner spiritual meaning which forms part of the "*investigabiles divitias Christi*", which is the mystical Christ.

The perfect balance of these two themes was not attained all at once. In Clement of Alexandria we see the two currents running side by side without any intermixing. There is an echo of the Pauline tradition.

> Isaac is a type of the Lord, as child and son; for he was son of Abraham, as Christ is the Son of God, and a sacrifice as was the Lord. But Isaac was not immolated as was the Lord; he only bore the wood of the sacrifice as the Lord the wood of the cross. And he laughed mystically, prophesying that the Lord should fill us with joy, who have been redeemed from corruption by the blood of the Lord. Isaac did everything but suffer, as was right, yielding the precedence in suffering to the *Logos*. Furthermore, there is an intimation of the divinity of the Lord in his not being slain. For Jesus rose again after his burial, having suffered no harm, like Isaac released from sacrifice (*Pedag.* I, 5, Staehlin, I, pp. 103-104).

This remarkable passage reminds us very much of the interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews (absence of sacrifice, type of the Resurrection) and of Tertullian (the first fruits of suffering should be reserved to the *Logos*). The only Philonian element is the laughter, which is an allusion to the symbolical meaning of the name Isaac, and so allegorically symbolizes the joy resulting from Christ's Passion.

We note the passage from the Philonian theme as it is gradually pervaded by the Christian dogma.[1]

In a few other passages Clement directly reproduces Philo's theme of the three Patriarchs representing the three kinds of virtue.

> Scripture will afford a testimony to what has been said in what follows. Sara was at one time barren, being Abraham's wife. Sara having no child, assigned her maid, by name Agar, the Egyptian, to Abraham, in order to get children. Wisdom, therefore, who dwells with the man of faith (and Abraham was reckoned faithful and righteous), was still barren and without child in that generation, not having conceived any fruit of virtue for Abraham. And she, as was proper, thought that he, being now in the stage of progress (προκοπή), should have intercourse with secular culture first (Egypt symbolizes the world); and afterwards should approach her according to divine providence and beget Isaac. Philo interprets Agar as the sojourner and Sara as "she who is my ruler". He, then, who has received previous training in worldly things is at liberty to approach wisdom, which is supreme (ἀρχικωτάτη), from which grows up the race of Israel. These things show that wisdom, to which Abraham attained, can be acquired through instruction, by passing from the contemplation of heavenly things to the faith and righteousness which are according to God. And Isaac is shown to mean "self-taught" (ἀυτομαθής), wherefore also he is discovered to be a type of Christ.

This curious passage repeats at first literally—Philo is actually mentioned—the *De Congressu* (34-37). But at the end we see once again the fusion of the Christian and Philonian themes. Isaac is a type of Christ not as a ἱερεῖον but as the αὐτομαθής, the same interpretation as Philo gives.

A final passage will show us the interaction of these two themes rather than their fusion. It deals with the interpretation of Genesis 26: "Abimelech, King of the Palestines, looking out through a window saw Isaac playing with Rebecca his wife."

[1] See Heinisch, *Der Einfluss Philos auf die älteste christliche Exegese*, Munster, 1908, pp. 201 seq.

> The Father of the Universe cherishes affection towards those who have fled to him: and having begotten them again by his Spirit to the adoption of children, knows them as gentle and loves these alone, and defends them; and therefore he bestows on them the name of child. The word Isaac I also connect with child. Isaac means laughter. He was seen sporting with his wife and helpmate by the prying King. This King, whose name was Abimelech, appears to me to represent a supramundane wisdom contemplating the mystery of sport. They interpret the name Rebecca to mean *patientia*. O wise sport, laughter assisted by endurance, with the King as a spectator. The spirits of those who are children in Christ, whose lives are ordered in endurance, rejoice. And this is the divine sport. For what other employment is seemly for a wise and perfect man, than to sport and be glad in the endurance of what is good, and, in the administration of what is good, holding festival with God (*Pedag.*, 1, 5; Staehlin, I, pp. 102-103).

This is an almost literal translation of Philo, *De Plantatione Noe*, 169. But at the same time we observe an almost imperceptible move towards the Christian interpretation: the child Isaac becomes the type of those who are children in Christ, of the childlike spirit. Still at bottom it is Philo with merely a light Christian top-dressing. It is the reverse of what we found in the first passage.

The continuation of the text has a more markedly Christian interpretation.

> That which is signified by the prophet may be interpreted differently—namely, as our rejoicing for our salvation, as for Isaac's. He also, delivered from death, laughed, sporting and rejoicing with his spouse, who was the type of the Helper of our salvation, the Church to whom the constant name of

> endurance (ὑπομονή) is given; for this cause surely, that she alone remains (μένειν) to all generations, rejoicing ever, subsisting as she does by the endurance of us believers, who are members of Christ. And the witness (μαρτυρία) of those that have endured to the end, and the rejoicing (εὐχαριστία) on their account, is the mystic sport, and the salvation accompanied with holy joy which brings us aid. The King, then, who is Christ, beholds (ἐπισκοπεῖ) from above our laughter, and looking through the window, as the Scripture says, views the thanksgiving and the rejoicing and the gladness, and furthermore the endurance which works together with them and their interweaving which is the Church: showing only his face which was wanting to the Church, which is made perfect by her royal Head. And where was the window by which Christ showed himself? The flesh by which he was manifested. (*Pedag.*, 1, 5; Staehlin, 1, p. 103).

The Christian tendency of this beautiful passage is very marked, however much it may owe to Philo. But it must be admitted that the philosophical bias of Clement has not yet been properly integrated into a Christian setting.

It is Origen who will achieve this. In his Homilies on Genesis, he has three—and these among the best of his whole work—on Isaac. The Seventh Homily deals with the birth of Isaac, the Eighth with his sacrifice, the Ninth with his marriage. We find there the two great Pauline themes of the *ortus* and the *immolatio*, and Philo's theme of the marriage. In the first Origen does make use of Philo: "I think that Sara which is interpreted princess (δέσποινα) or having the sovereignty (ἡγεμονίς) is the type of virtue, because virtue is in the mind (ἡγεμονικόν). That is true virtue which lives with a wise and faithful husband. That is why God said to Abraham, 'In all that Sara hath said to thee, hearken to her voice': words which do not fit a merely carnal marriage" (VI, 1; p. 66). There is a textual resemblance to Philo (*De Cong.*, 14) and Clement (*Strom.*, 1, 5). But, by and large, it is to the Pauline interpretation of the son of the free

woman and the son of the bond woman that Origen is indebted. He, however, envisages only individually where St Paul was thinking collectively. For Origen the opposition of Agar and Sara is not the opposition of two historical peoples. It is rather the type of the interior conflict which goes on in each individual Christian. "See how the Apostle teaches us that, in all things, the flesh wars against the spirit, whether it be an earthly minded people striving against the spiritually minded, or even in our case, the instance of the earthly minded at loggerheads with the more spiritually minded. You, too, if you live by the rules of the flesh, are Agar's son" (VII, 2, p. 72). The historical conflict becomes that of Jew and Christian which each of us bears in himself. Thus the history of nations becomes the history of the individual soul, a transposition along the lines of authentic typology.

The second mystery of Isaac is that of immolation. Here Origen confines himself even more to typological explanations. He sees, in the sense of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a prefiguring of the Resurrection in the sparing of Isaac: "Abraham knew that he prefigured the type of things to come, he knew Christ would be born of his seed, to be offered as a true victim for the whole world and the resurrection of the dead" (VIII, 1; Baehrens, p. 78, 25). Then he unravels the *sacramenta* of the narrative: "He arrived at the place to which the Lord had directed him on the third day. The third day is always a fit one for mysteries. When the people went forth from Egypt they offered sacrifice to God on the third day, and the Lord's Resurrection is on the third day" (VIII, 4). This did not escape St Hilary's notice. "That Isaac himself bore the wood for the sacrifice is a type of what Christ did on the cross, for to carry the wood for the sacrifice is part of a priest's office." Abraham's answer to Isaac's question: "God will provide a victim" implies "not here and now, but in the future." The Lord himself provides the victim in Christ, "for he humbled himself even to death"

(VIII, 6). And he compares Abraham's sacrifice with that of the Father giving his Son: "See how God deals with man with wonderful generosity: Abraham offered his son, mortal man, yet without his suffering death; God handed over to death for men this immortal Son. What shall we say to this." *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit nobis, Deus Pater propter nos proprio filio non pepercit"* (VIII, 8).[1] Here again Origen refers to St Paul and follows the common tradition. He also uses the double type of Isaac and the ram, but differently from Tertullian:

> We said earlier that Isaac represents Christ, but the ram also seems to represent Christ.[2] How can they both be like Christ? It is not easy to see how this applies to Isaac who was not sacrificed and the ram who was. Christ is the Word of God, but the Word made flesh. There is in Christ something which comes from above and something which he took from human nature and his Mother's virginal womb. Christ did indeed suffer, but in the flesh; he endured death, but the ram is the type of his flesh, according to the words of John: "Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sin of the world". Isaac is the type of the Word, who dwells in immortality, Christ according to the Spirit. He is both the victim and the one who offers. In the spirit it is he who offers the victim to the Father; in the flesh he is himself offered on the altar of the Cross (VIII, 9; Baehrens, pp. 84-85).

Theodoret will also use this interpretation. It is more theological, but less typological than that of Tertullian.

In the first two *sacramenta* Origen bases himself on St Paul and works out the mystery in a spiritual sense. But for the third, St Paul afforded no help and Origen fell back

[1] St Gregory of Nyssa will draw from this passage a proof of the equality of the Father and the Son (P.G., XLVI, 565C-573A). He bases himself on Origen in developing the dramatic character of the sacrifice, which we have passed over.

[2] There is the same idea in *Hom. in Lev.*, III, 8; Baehrens, 313, 24: *Omnis hostia typum fert et imaginem Christi, multo magis aries qui et pro Isaac quondam substitutus est immolandus.*

on Philo. Origen borrowed from him the symbols, but gave them quite a different significance. We are here in the sphere not of typology, but of allegory, of Christian allegory.

> Rebecca came with the other women to draw water from the well. And because she came every day to the well, it was possible for her to be found by Abraham's servant and married to Isaac. You think that these are myths, and that the Holy Spirit only records history in the Scriptures. Here is an instruction for the soul and spiritual teaching which instructs you to come daily to the wells of the Scriptures. . . . All that has been written, are mysteries: Christ wishes to wed you, too, and for that reason sends his servant to you. This servant is the word of the prophets. You cannot be wed to Christ, if you have not at first received him (X, 2; Baehrens, pp. 94-95).

Origen borrows from Philo this symbolism of the wells as the "depths of knowledge" (*Quaest. in Gen.*, 191; *De fuga*, 200). He also borrows from him the idea of giving a mystical sense to Isaac's marriage. But he does not envisage this as the marriage of the τέλειος with Wisdom but of Christ with the soul. Origen sees this as just one instance of the general nuptial theme of the Bible, typifying the marriage of God with his people and of Christ with the Church—which he interprets more intimately as the union of the Word with the soul. He justifies this symbolical interpretation in a last passage.

> Do you think that it is merely by chance that the Patriarchs come upon wells and find their brides there? Those who do think this are earthly minded, and do not perceive the things of the Spirit of God. If they wish they can remain in their earthly thoughts, but I, following St Paul, can say that these things are allegories and that the nuptials of the Saints are the union of the Saints with the Word of God. Now it is obvious that this union of the soul with God the Word can only be achieved by the teaching of the Holy Books, figura-

> tively called wells. If anyone goes to them and draws water, that is, if in meditating he recognizes the spiritual truths lying in them, he finds names worthy of God, for his soul is united to God (X, 5; Baehrens, p. 99).

It is not *casu*, "by chance", that a single incident is found several times over in Scripture. It is divinely intended, for God does nothing without purpose and significance. Everything works towards its purpose: "You see how the mysteries of the two testaments harmonize and agree. In the Old, brides are found as you advance to the wells, and it is in the bath of water that the Church is united to Christ.[1] We are overwhelmed by the number of mysteries" (X, 5; Baehrens, p. 100). The Old Testament, the Church, the mystical life, all agree, harmonize in the same ideas.

We remarked that Origen interprets the mystical nuptials of Isaac and Rebecca along the line of the Song of Songs, as symbolizing the union of the soul with the Word, and equally with that of the Church with Christ. The union of the two ideas is made by St Ambrose in *De Isaac*. Ambrose starts from the episode of Isaac and Rebecca, but the treatise is really a commentary on the Song of Songs inspired by Origen and Hippolytus. The marriage of Isaac and Rebecca is described in words borrowed from the Song of Songs and provides an admirable mystical epithalamium. Ambrose does not base himself literally on Philo. It must be recognized that we have not got Philo's *De Isaac* which was perhaps suppressed by some Christian copyist.[2] Still he holds on to Philo's principle of making the narrative of Isaac a treatise on the mystical life, with Isaac at the top of the ladder of spiritual ascent. The difference is that with Philo Isaac represents the soul and Rebecca Sophia, while with

[1] Rebecca is the Church for Hippolytus: also for St. Gregory of Nazianzus (P.G. XXXVI, 592C) and for St Gregory of Nyssa (P.G., XLVI, 588C).

[2] The fact that St Ambrose, who usually follows Philo, transforms his commentary *De Isaac* into one on the Song of Songs is evident that the treatise of Philo was wanting.

Ambrose, as already in Origen, Rebecca represents the soul or the Church and Isaac Christ. Philo also found in Isaac a mystical inebriation. "He found wisdom to hand, like a ram falling from on high. He quenched his thirst from it and remained overcome with this sober inebriation which never clouded his reason. He it is whom Scripture calls Isaac" (*De fuga*, 166).

Before devoting almost the whole of his treatise to this epithalamium St Ambrose begins by mentioning two other mysteries in the life of Isaac. In this he is a witness to the common tradition. "In Isaac the types of the birth and passion of the Saviour were revealed in the past: so true it is that an elderly and barren woman gave birth to a child in consequence of the divine promise, so that we may believe it possible that God can also make a Virgin to conceive and that an only Son be offered in sacrifice in such wise that at one and the same time his father does not lose him and that he fulfils the sacrifice" (*De Isaac*, I, 1; C.S.E.L. XXXII, 641).[1] St Ambrose well brings out the two mysteries, the *ortus* and the *sacrificium*. He emphasizes the pedagogical nature of the types: the miracle of Sara is intended to accustom man through a less striking incident to the idea of a miraculous birth. We find once more the typology of St Irenaeus. The double aspect of resurrection and the passion is very much accentuated in the mystery of the sacrifice. We are in the full stream of tradition. Ambrose goes on: "that is why his name indicates a type and a blessing, for Isaac is translated *risus* in Latin, and laughter is the sign of joyfulness. We know that this really means the rejoicing of a world which has lost fear and sadness of death through the remission of sins. That is why the former (Isaac) was so called and the latter (Jesus) appointed: the former indicated, the latter announced" (*id.*). Here is the

[1] Already the *De Abrahamo* pointed to the typical significance of the scene. *Isaac Christi passionis est typus* (I, 7). The *Expositio Luc.* gives the inner meaning: "Isaac though he was offered to death was preserved, because he could not take away man's sin" (VI, 109; C.S.E.L., XXXII, 281).

Philonian influence again (*De praem et paen,* 31, etc. . . .) Ambrose continues:

> It was he already who persecuted the servant. For him his Father acquired a foreign wife. When Rebecca arrived, the meek, humble and peace-loving Isaac was walking in the country. He is the true Isaac full of grace and the source of all joy, to whom, as to its source, Rebecca came to fill her pitcher. For Scripture says that coming down to the well she filled her pitcher and returned. She came to the fountain of wisdom—be she the Church or the human soul, to fill to the brim her pitcher and drink of the discipline of that true wisdom which the Jews repudiated. What this fountain is, he will tell you himself. "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters." It is this fountain which draws the troubled soul of the Prophets, as David cried: "so panteth my soul after thee, O God", to quench their thirst from the fullness of divine knowledge (*id.* p. 642).

Once more, we meet the fountain theme. Philo devoted two passages to this in which he alludes to the verse of Jer. 2 : 13 (*De fuga,* 197). Origen also developed the allegory at length. Philo could see only the depths of gnosis (*De fuga,* 200); Origen sees the hidden mysteries of the Scriptures (*Hom. in Gen.*, X, 2, p. 95, 5); while St Ambrose sees Christ, the source of living water. Once again we meet the Philonian etymology of Rebecca (*De Cong.* 37). But the most interesting point for us is that Rebecca is presented as typifying the Church or the soul. The double theme is, then, known to Ambrose as well as to Origen, and it is by preference that he chooses the second.

St Ambrose then passes on to the actual nuptials of Isaac and Rebecca. He points out that intercourse with earthly affairs corrupts the soul. Against this he shows Isaac

> walking in the field, which shows how he was in habitual intercourse with all the virtues, walking in the innocence of his heart, and in no wise mixed up with earthly affairs. Such

> was Isaac as he waited for the coming of Rebecca and a spiritual union with her. For she came already endowed with heavenly mysteries: she came laden with ornaments in her ears and hands, showing how the Church's beauty shines forth both in word and action. Therefore either the Patriarch's soul beholding the mystery of Christ, and seeing Rebecca coming with all her gold and silver ornaments, like the Church with her train of the nations, adores the beauty of the Word and speaks of his mysteries: "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth"; or Rebecca seeing the true Isaac, that true joy and gladness, wishes herself to be kissed. What is then the meaning of "let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth"? Think either of the Church awaiting for so long a time the coming of her Lord which the Prophets had long ages foretold, or of the soul which raises itself above the body by the renunciation of all luxury and bodily delights, and wishes henceforth to experience the divine presence and the grace of the word of salvation (*De Isaac,* VI and VII, pp. 646-647).

The interweaving of the two themes, mystical and ecclesiological, in this passage corresponds to the two different interpretations which St Ambrose, who never quite unravels his sources, does not succeed in resolving. There is the Philonian interpretation in which Isaac typifies the soul and Rebecca wisdom: Ambrose makes wisdom a type of the Church with her doctrine and sacraments, and then the emphasis is on the soul preparing itself by ascetical training for the spiritual gifts which will be given to it through union with the Church. Then there is Origen's interpretation, in which by contrast it is Rebecca who typifies the Church with her ardent hope during the time of the Old Testament and sees Christ as foretold by the prophets coming towards her in the person of Isaac. We note that St Ambrose finds it harder than Origen to free himself from the influence of Philo, and he may even have utilized texts of Philo no longer existing. Furthermore, he shows himself little careful of

inconsistencies, and, basing himself on a text of the Song of Songs, develops the mystical theme by interpreting Rebecca as the soul and Isaac as Christ, thus creating a third interpretation with its roots in Origen and showing that he is no longer tied to Philo. However this may be, St Ambrose is a witness of the importance in the symbolism of Isaac taken by the nuptial mystery.

Here we must end our enquiry.[1] We have all the elements which go to build up the *sacramentum* of Isaac. Some are based on the sure ground of the best biblical typology, and we find them in the general catechetical tradition. Two principal themes are indicated, already to be found in the Pauline Epistles. Isaac is the son of the promise: his miraculous birth of a barren woman is, as St Ambrose saw, a prefiguring of the virginal maternity, and according to the divine plan will make this latter less difficult to believe, by putting it at the end of a series of God's works less exalted, but of a similar kind. Also his displacing of Ishmael prepares the way for the displacing of the Chosen People by the Gentiles. It was further noted by St Paul that the miraculous birth is not without its connection with this replacement of racial inheritance by divine election. Then, secondly, the sacrifice of Isaac is a mysterious prefiguring of the sacrifice of Christ, whom the Father spared not: this prefiguring is particularly connected with the theme of the covenant, since this implies above all that God asks the death of him who had been foretold as the Promised one, and that if the fulfilment of this seemed apparently to destroy him, this was certainly the lesson which the divine teacher taught the Jewish people, to strengthen them against the scandal of the Cross. The Rabbinical speculations on the value of Isaac's sacrifice would seem far rather to depend on the Pauline theology of the redemption than to have exercised any influence.

[1] It can be followed up in the Greeks in St Cyril of Alexandria, *Hom. Pasch.*: P.G. LXXVII 484A-497B: in the Latins in St Augustine, *Contra Faust.* XII, 25 and XXII, 73; *De Civi. Dei, XVI,* 32.

Side by side with this Biblical Theology, as an authentic development of it, and remaining the basic element of patristic exegesis, even in those who depart from it in various ways, we find another stream going back to Philo, and chiefly working on another theme, the marriage of Isaac. Philo is particularly attracted to the symbolism of the Patriarchal marriages. Origen and St Ambrose have given a Christian turn to this symbolism, finding in the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca a type of the marriage of the Word with the Church. This interpretation is based on the Christological significance of Isaac. Still it is an extension of a certain and definite incident into wider spheres, and this leads to the approach which finds a spiritual sense in every text of Scripture. This is quite contrary to the true spirit of typology, which is content to find types of the New Testament only in those events in which the divine action outlines as it were what will later receive its fulfilment in Christ. We are close to the boundary which divides the major types which form part of the general tradition of the Church and the private interpretations of the Fathers, which may be of great spiritual value, but cannot be considered as providing the authentic interpretation of the Bible.

BOOK IV

MOSES AND THE EXODUS

I

THE TYPOLOGY OF THE EXODUS IN THE OLD AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

UNIVERSAL Christian tradition has seen, in the people, events and institutions of the Exodus, types of the New Testament and the Sacraments of the Church. There is a very evident continuity between the first-born of the Jews, saved by the avenging Angel because they were marked with the blood of the lamb, Christ the first-born of the new creation, conqueror of death through his blood, the blood of the true Lamb, and the Christian saved from the death due to sin because he was marked at Baptism with the blood of the Lamb. The continuity is emphasized by the coincidence of time between Christ's death and the anniversary of the Jewish Passover, and of Christian baptism with the anniversary day of Christ's death. This is an excellent example of Cullmann's theory that the Sacraments prolong in the Church the "Wonders", the θαύματα of the Old Testament, the actions of one same *rûah Yahweh*. The Fathers have rightly insisted at all times that the types of the Exodus are fulfilled in the life of Christ and the Church, and in this they have but followed the teaching of the New Testament, which shows that these types are fulfilled in Christ. But the New Testament is itself only the continuation of the Old, and never fails to emphasize that the New Exodus foretold in the Old Testament has been realized in Jesus Christ of Nazareth.

The Exodus, more than anything, brings home that typology is rooted in the Old Testament. Two aspects are

involved here. The Historical Books, especially the Pentateuch, recall the mighty works which God has done for Israel; while the Prophetical Books foretell equally great works which God will perform for his people in time to come. The Old Testament is both a memory and a prophecy. We can go further, and say that it is the prophecy which makes it a memory: the mighty works of the past are recalled only as the foundation of future hope. For it is very noticeable that the Prophets foretell events to come as the recovery of what has passed. When we turn to the theme in hand we find that Isaiah and Jeremiah hold up to the Jews of the Captivity the future which God has in store for them as a new Exodus, of which the earlier one was the type. A. G. Hebert can rightly say that we have here "the beginning of mystical interpretation of the story of the Exodus".[1]

The early history of the Patristic interpretation of the Exodus offers us a first period in the Old Testament itself in which we see the Prophets proclaim a new Exodus of which the first was the type, as they also proclaimed a second cataclysm of which the Flood was the type. The two themes meet in the second Isaiah, who describes the crossing of the Red Sea as a new victory of Yahweh over Rahab, type of both Egypt and the great Abyss[2] (Is. 51:9-11). We find this already in Osee, who pictures the Messianic age as a return of the time in the desert when the Nuptials of Jahweh with his people were celebrated:

> Therefore, behold, I will allure her,
> And will lead her into the wilderness:
> And I will speak to her heart.
> She shall sing there according to the days of her youth,
> And according to the days of her coming up out of the land of Egypt (Osee 2:14-15).

[1] *The Authority of the Old Testament*, p. 146. See also H. Gressmann, *Der Messias*, pp. 181-192.

[2] See Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 31-32; Aage Bentzen, "The cultic use of the story of the Ark" (*Journ. Bibl. Litt.*, March 1948, p. 37).

Similar allusions occur in Osee 8:13, 12:9 ("will yet cause thee to dwell in tabernacles"), 13:4. The Messianic time thus appears as a return to the ἐκκλησία of the desert when the people dwelt in booths. Isaiah also describes the future time in language borrowed from the Exodus: "The Lord shall lift his hand over the river . . . and there shall be a highway for the remnant of my people as there was for Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt" (11:15. See 10:26). Yahweh will once more lead his people by "a cloud during the day, and a smoke and the brightness of a flaming fire in the night" (4:5. See Ex. 13:21 and Ps. 78:14). Christian tradition will, as we shall see, pay particular attention to this. Yahweh will strike the enemies of the people "according to the slaughter of Madian in the Rock of Horeb" (10:26).[1]

This approach is even more apparent in the second half of Isaiah, in which the deliverance of the captives is shown explicitly as the antitype of the deliverance from Egypt:

> Thus saith the Lord
> Who made a way in the sea,
> And a path in the mighty waters. . . .
> Remember not former things,
> And look not on things of old.
> Behold I do new things. . . .
> I will make a way in the wilderness,
> And rivers in the desert (43:16-20).

The new Exodus has all the features of the old. Yahweh will go before the people in the day and will follow them by night, as the pillar of fire and the cloud in the Exodus from Egypt. Water will once again burst forth from the rock (Is. 48:21-22, and Ex. 18:6. See also Is. 49:10). But it is not a case of simple repetition. The "new wonders" will cause "the things of old" to be forgotten. The Jews started from

[1] See J. Guillet, "La Thème de la marche au désert dans l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament," *Rech. Sc. Rel.*, 1949, pp. 164 seq.

Egypt in haste and in flight (Ex. 12:39); the new Exodus will not be "as making haste by flight" (Is. 52:12) but a triumphal march. Jeremiah also emphasized that the Exodus to come would excel that of the past. "And they shall say no more: The Lord liveth who brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt: but, the Lord liveth, who hath brought out, and brought hither, the seed of the house of Israel from the land of the north" (Jer. 23:7. See also Ezech. 20:33; Mich. 5:9). Yahweh will then make "a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Juda: not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt. . . . But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel. I will give my law in their bowels, and I will write in their head" (Jer. 31:31-33).[1]

We can now put together the various features which the different texts afford us, and shall find the various themes which make up the picture of the future Exodus: crossing of the sea, the desert march, living water pouring from rocks, the cloud and the new covenant. And it is these features that we find again in the New Testament, and the Fathers who will use the Exodus from the point of view of the first typology which the Prophets have given. The Prophets, in the very heart of the Old Testament, are the first who have dwelt on the significance of the Exodus, and their work is of primary importance, for it makes clear that the principles of typology were to be found already among these Prophets. We have only to add that they think of this New Exodus as something superior to the old (Is. 43:16) and of a more spiritual character (Jer. 31:33). If we note that the last of the Prophets holds that the Exodus has not yet been achieved,[2] we shall find that we have all the constituent

[1] See Goppelt, *Typos, Die Typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neunen*, 1939, pp. 38 seq.: Gressmann, *Der Messias*, pp. 181-192.

[2] Hebert, *The Authority of the Old Testament*, p. 153. The account of Elias is shown "as a first return to Moses" (Gressmann, *Der Messias*, p. 182).

elements of the New Testament typology. Lastly, we must note how the Judaism of the time of Christ, faithful to the Prophetic tradition, represents the time of salvation in terms borrowed from the Exodus: Moses typifies the Messiah, Israel will be fed as in the time of the Exodus on manna and living water: this salvation will take place in the Spring, as did the Passover.[1]

When the New Testament shows that the life of Christ is the truth and fulfilment of all that was outlined and typified in the Exodus it is only taking up and continuing the typology outlined by the Prophets. The basic difference does not lie in the typology, but in the fact that what is presented by the Prophets as something yet to come is shown by the New Testament writers as fulfilled in Jesus Christ. This is the over-all position of the New Testament and the ground of its typology, though each writer will work out the details according to his own plan. The Gospel of St Matthew is permeated with allusions to the Exodus, at least implicitly. Christ's life is there presented in the framework of the New Exodus, foretold by the Prophets. We saw how Osee refers to the Messianic age as a new flight from Egypt. St Matthew, quoting Osee (11:1), shows Christ as fulfilling the word of the Prophets (Mt. 2:15) and leaving Egypt after Herod's death.[2] This is an example of the way in which St Matthew puts biographical details of Christ's life into harmony with the story of the Exodus. Prophecy, which thus becomes the first degree in the evolution of typology, is seen as establishing a relationship between the New Testament and the Exodus. The organic relation between typology and prophecy, *τύπος* and *λόγος* is quite clear, for so far from being distinct categories, prophecy is the typological interpretation of history.

[1] See Goppelt, Typos, pp. 30 seq.; Foot-Moore, *Judaism*, II, pp. 367-368; Strack-Billerbeck, II, p. 481; Volz, *Die Eschatologie der Judischen Gemeinde*, pp. 388 seq.; Bonsirven, *Judaisme palestinien*, I, p. 416; Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, pp. 91-93.

[2] Notice how Christ is shown here as the true Israel.

We have a striking instance of this in Chapter III. Isaiah had portrayed the deliverance of Israel as a New Exodus, a triumphant march through the desert, a herald going before (40:3). St Matthew shows St John the Baptist as the herald, and he who was the last and greatest of the Prophets did not only proclaim, but witnessed the new Exodus and cried out: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord" (Mt. 3:3).[1] The Gospel goes on to show us what is this way of the Lord in the desert. Immediately after his Baptism, which corresponds to the crossing of the Red Sea,[2] Jesus is "led by the Spirit into the desert" (4:1). It was in the desert that the Jewish people, after their crossing of the Red Sea, underwent various trials. Deuteronomy expressly teaches: "and thou shalt remember all the way through which the Lord thy God hath brought thee for forty years through the desert; to afflict thee and to prove thee. . . . He afflicted thee with want, and gave thee manna for thy food, to show that not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God" (Deut. 8:2-4). Christ's temptation envisages this passage explicitly. Jesus is led into the desert to be tempted (Mt. 4:1) and passes forty days there, an obvious allusion to the forty years of the Exodus and to the forty days of Moses' fast. He is hungry, and when the tempter proposes to change the stones into bread, Jesus answers with this same text of Deuteronomy, "man does not live by bread alone" (4:3). The second temptation is linked up by St Matthew with the temptation of Massan (Deut. 6:16, and Ex. 17:1). Also the words of Psalm 91 (Heb.) "For he hath given his angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways. In their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone"

[1] The role of John the Baptist is also connected with Exodus, 23:20 (Mt. 11:10).

[2] John's baptizing seems to have affinities with the baptizing of Proselytes, but the kinship is not with the ordinary Jewish community, but with the eschatological community, with the true *Ecclesia*, of which the *Ecclesia* of the Exodus was the type. See Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, p. 31; W. F. Flemington, *The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism*, 1948, p. 6.

(11-12), seemed to refer to the same episode of the Exodus, if we join it to the chapter of Deuteronomy quoted in the previous temptation: "The Lord thy God was thy leader in the great and terrible wilderness, wherein was the serpent burning with his breath, and no waters at all: who brought streams out of the hardest rock . . . and after he had proved thee" (Deut. 8:15-16). The stone of the psalm is the rock of the Exodus, which can be a source of disaster and a "*petra scandali*" (Rom. 9:33), or on the other hand a source of life. The final temptation on the high mountain recalls Sinai, and Christ's answer to Satan is drawn from the Decalogue revealed by God on Sinai. The narrative of the Temptation presents it as the true Exodus, in which the true Israel, both in the desert and on the mountain top, offers the contrast of his own fidelity to the waywardness of the first Israel in the desert of Sinai.[1]

We said that Christ is shown in this narrative as the true Israel. But at the same time, following a recognized principle, he is also shown as the true Moses. Like Moses he went up into the mountain and remained there forty days and nights (Mt. 4:2; Ex. 24:18). In the history of the Prophets we find that Elias had also spent forty days and nights in the desert (1 Kings, 19:8-12) before he was allowed to see God. As the Gospel continues its narrative it is this resemblance with Moses which is emphasized: Jesus being shown as a New Moses of whom the first Moses was the type. We see this in the Sermon on the Mount, which shows Jesus as the Lawgiver of the New Covenant.[2] This framework is certainly deliberate. The mountain on which Jesus proclaims the Charter of the Kingdom recalls Sinai on which Moses received the Old Law. And the narrative parallels the precepts of the Decalogue and the New Law (Ex. 20:13, and Mt. 5:21; Ex. 20:14, and Mt.

[1] See P. Bonnard, "La signification du désert selon le N.T.", *Hommage à Karl Barth*, pp. 9 seq.

[2] See H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, p. 93; P. Dabeck, "Siehe, es erschiennen Moses und Elias," *Biblica* XXIII (1942).

5:27). But Moses was not merely the Lawgiver, but also the Redeemer of the People. The Prophets had foretold the Messiah in the framework of the Exodus. Matthew looks back to these passages (Osee 6:6; Mt. 9:13; Is. 35:5, 61:1; Mt. 11:4-6).[1] As Moses had passed through the sea, commanding the waters, so did Jesus "cross" the sea when he commanded the wind and the waves and walked upon the waters (Mt. 8:23-27).[2] As Moses distributed Manna in the desert, so did Jesus give bread to the multitudes (14:4).[3] As Moses chose seventy ancients to assist him in the government of the people and bestowed his spirit upon them (Num. 11:16) so did Jesus send forth seventy disciples (Lk. 10:1).[4] The number, twelve, of the Apostles demonstrates that the community founded by Jesus is the true Israel.[5] The parallel between Moses and Christ terminates in the Transfiguration, with its numerous references to the Exodus: Moses himself, the cloud, the Divine voice, the tabernacles.[6]

When we pass to the Gospel of St John, we cannot but notice that the life of Christ is presented there also in the

[1] See Barrett, *loc. cit.*, pp. 50-51.
[2] See Hoskyns, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, 1947, p. 70.
[3] Hoskyns, p. 123. Goppelt, p. 83; Schoeps, p. 92.
[4] This parallel was noted as early as Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.*, III, 2) and adopted by Goodenough (*By Light Light*, p. 218). R. Liechtenham (*Die Urchristliche Mission*, Zurich, 1946, p. 23) holds it as the more common opinion. But there may be some allusion to a quite different theme, that of the seventy nations, type of the whole of the human race (Gen. 10:2-30), common to Jewish tradition (Foot-Moore, *Judaism*, I, p. 277). Certain manuscripts of St Luke give seventy-two instead of seventy disciples. The *Clementine Recognitions*, which are of Jewish-Christian origin, also give the number seventy-two. H. J. Schoeps (*Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, pp. 96-97) thinks that this indicates two tendencies; one emphasizing the mission to the Jews ($72 = 6 \times 12$ tribes), the other the mission to the Gentiles (70 nations). This hesitation between the numbers also existed in the Rabbinical tradition, either in the case of the Ancients (Schoeps, p. 96), or the nations (Foot-Moore, *Judaism*, I, p. 225), which shows the passage in St Luke is based on a similar speculation.
[5] Goppelt, *Typos*, pp. 128. seq.; Fridrichsen, "Église et Sacrement dans le Nouveau Testament", *Rev. Hist. Phil. Relig.*, 1937, pp. 342.
[6] For this last point see Goppelt, *loc. cit.* p. 73. Harald Riesenfeld (*Jésus transfiguré*, Uppsala, 1947, p. 172) holds that the tabernacles refer to the Feast of Tabernacles; this was itself a liturgical commemoration of the tents of the Exodus.

framework of the Exodus, but at the same time how differently: St Matthew gives his attention above all to the ministry of Christ, showing the parallels with that of Moses, in freeing the people from captivity and giving them the Law. The Gospel of St John has a decidedly more sacramental perspective. He presents the mystery of Christ as "worked out" on three levels; that of the Exodus, which is the type, that of the Gospel, which is the fulfilment, that of the sacraments, which is the continuation. Putting Moses to one side, he proceeds to show the life of Christ and his Person against the background of the Exodus, in such wise that Christ will be seen as the fulfilment of what was but the type. The Johannine Gospel appears as a kind of Paschal catechetical instruction, to show to those baptized on the night of Holy Saturday that the Sacraments they then received were divine interventions which continued the *magnalia* of Yahweh at the time of the Exodus and also at the time of the Passion and resurrection of Christ.[1] From the beginning in the Prologue, the Word appears as the Shekinah, the abode of Yahweh's glory, which dwelt in the midst of the people in the desert (Ex. 40:36). Then he reveals himself as the serpent lifted up in the desert and healing those who looked upon it (3:14) as the manna coming down from heaven and healing God's people (4:31-33), as the spring which gushed forth from the rock for the benefit of those dwelling in tents (7:37-38),[2] as the pillar of fire which followed the people (8:12), and as the Paschal lamb whose blood washed away the sins of the world (1:29; 19:36).[3]

When we turn to the Acts of the Apostles we find that too shows the first Christian community as the fulfilment of the desert community. This is indicated by the word ἐκκλησία (5:11) which Deuteronomy ascribes to the

[1] Oscar Cullmann, *Urchristentum und Gottesdient*, pp. 33-37.
[2] E. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 1947, p. 322.
[3] On the combination of these themes, see C. K. Barrett, "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel", *J.T.S.* XLVIII, July-Oct. 1947, pp. 155 seq.

desert community (18:16). When we read, "for neither was there any one needy among them" (4:34), there is no need to look for any Platonic basis for this Christian communism, rather it is of the ideal community as described in Deuteronomy: "And there shall be no poor or beggar among you" (15:4). The parallel is even more striking when we compare the episodes of Achan (Jos. 7:19-20), and Ananias and Saphira (Acts 5:1-11), who both violated the law of communal property. The number seven, which is that of the deacons to whom were assigned the temporal cares of the community, is perhaps derived from the re-division of the land among the tribes by Joshua. Acts 6:3; Jos. 17:2 seq.).[1] St Stephen's speech (Acts 7:1-50), which is a very valuable *haggadah* on the life of Moses, simply recounts the outline of Moses's career to show that the unbelief of the Jews with regard to Jesus was prefigured by their infidelities against Moses. The First Epistle to the Corinthians indicates that the crossing of the Red Sea is a type of Baptism, and the water gushing from the rock a type of the Eucharist: "these things were done in a figure of us" (10:6). And the Second Epistle to the Corinthians sees in the divine indwelling in the Chuch a fulfilment of the indwelling promised to Moses.

The First Epistle of St Peter give us a passage of particular richness in which Baptism is once more described as a new Exodus from Egypt:

> Wherefore having the loins of your mind girt up, being sober, trust perfectly in the grace which is offered you in the revelation of Jesus Christ. As children of obedience, not fashioned according to the former desires of your ignorance . . . converse in fear during the time of your sojourning here, knowing that you were not redeemed with corruptible things as gold or silver, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb unspotted and undefiled, foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world, but manifest in the last times for you. . . . Wherefore, laying away all malice and all guile, as new born babes desire the spiritual milk, if so be that you have tasted that the Lord is sweet. Unto whom coming, as to a living stone, rejected indeed by men, but chosen and made honourable by God. For the stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling, and a rock of scandal. But you are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people (1:13-20; 2.1-10).

[1] Goppelt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 143 seq.

All the themes of the Exodus reappear in this remarkable passage: the girding of the loins (12:11), the rejection of the fleshpots of Egypt (16:3), the dwelling in the desert among the heathen, the freedom from bondage[1] (15:13), the blood of the Lamb without spot or blemish[2] (12:5), the rock of living water, and lastly the people of God designated as a "priestly kingdom, a holy nation, an acquired possession" (19:5-6; Is. 43:21). There are doubtless other allusions too; the "laying away of guile" may perhaps refer according to I Cor. 5:7-8, to the unleavened bread. And in the lamb "foreknown before the foundation of the world" there may be an allusion to the lamb set apart on the first day and eaten on the fifth in the evening, according to the exegesis of a later tradition (Cyr. Alex., *Glaphyra*; P.G. LXIX, 424A-B). The passage is addressed to the "neophytes", so that it would appear that we have here a homily addressed during Easter Week to the newly baptized, and, basing itself on the Exodus narrative, describing the life they must aim at. They are the true "people of God", who have left Egypt and its fleshpots; they are to feed on the "living stone" which is Christ, and they are redeemed by the sacrifice of the Lamb. And the Church's Liturgy confirms this interpretation, for it takes this text as the theme of Low

[1] The word used to indicate this freedom is λυτρόω which is the same as that in Exodus 15:13 when speaking of the liberation. E. G. Selwyn (*The First Epistle of St. Peter*, London, 1947) remarks: "It is reasonable to see here a reference to Christian baptism as a new Exodus" (p. 144).

[2] Selwyn, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.

Sunday: *Quasimodo geniti infantes,* the Sunday which followed their Baptism, and on which they put off their white garments, and were called upon to live henceforth as a "holy nation". As in the Gospel of St John and the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we find here the rudiments of an Easter catechetical instruction, already well developed, in which Baptism and the Christian life are shown as a new Exodus, that of the true People of God. This text shows us how much even in the New Testament writings the symbolism of the Exodus had been developed. Particularly we shall notice the development of the conception of Christ the Rock, for we have grouped together texts which unite the corner stone of Isaiah, the rock of living waters, and the stumbling block (Is. 8:14). We have already noticed in the Gospel of St Matthew an analogous grouping round the narrative of the Temptation. This theme of the rock, which began with the Exodus, and was taken up by Isaiah, then by the New Testament, will receive its final setting in St Justin (*Dial.* LXXXVI, 3).[1]

There are still two other texts, which are entirely coloured by the Exodus narrative. The Apocalypse describes the history of the Christian people in terms borrowed from that of the Chosen Race. The whole story is dominated by the sacrifice of the Lamb (5:12). The twelve tribes represent the whole Church (7:4-8), while their deliverance is explicitly compared to the crossing of the Red Sea: "And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire, and them that had overcome the beast standing on the sea of glass, having the harps of God and singing the Canticle of Moses" (15:2). The revelation of God is heralded by the signs of Sinai: noise of trumpets (8:7) and thunders and lightnings (8:5). And the punishments which are meted out to the enemies of God are repetitions of the plagues of Egypt: hail (8:7), the changing of the sea into blood (8:8; 16:3), darkness (8:12; 16:10), locusts (9:3). This is an Apocalyptic ver-

[1] See Selwyn, *loc. cit.*, 158-164.

sion of the Exodus, following the lines of the Jewish Apocalyptical writings, just as the Prophetic version was based on the Prophets. It is John who affirms that this Apocalyptic Exodus is fufilled in Jesus Christ. And then the Epistle to the Hebrews compares Christ with Moses (3:3-5) to indicate his superiority; it shows that the cult revealed to Moses on Sinai is "a shadow of heavenly things" (8:5); that the new Covenant foretold by Jeremiah is fulfilled in the Covenant made by Jesus Christ (8:7, 12), whose blood is the blood of the True Covenant, of which the blood of bulls was only the type (9:11-12); lastly, it opposes "the mountain that might be touched, and the sound of a trumpet" to "Mount Sion and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem and the company of many thousands of angels" (12:19-24).

A deep impression forms itself on our mind after reading these many texts. It was the clear intention of the New Testament writers to show the mystery of Christ as at once continuing and surpassing the outstanding events in the story of Israel at the time of Moses. God had revealed his might in redeeming the chosen people. But the human race remained subject to another captivity more exacting and spiritual in nature. The Prophets had foretold that the might of God would be seen in a new redemption, on a far greater scale, which would inaugurate the New Covenant. The burden of the New Testament writers is to show that all this has been fulfilled in Jesus Christ. This means, as Goppelt has so well put it (p. 242), "that the events of the New Testament cease to be mere contingent events, and are integrated into the very heart of the eternal purpose of God, who calls upon us to render not merely passive acceptance, but ready obedience". We are thus led to see in history the fulfilment of the divine plan, baffling from our human point of view, yet offering a coherence and inner harmony which allows man's faith to rest therein as upon an immovable rock. We are thinking here of something quite differ-

ent from the clarification of the Gospel through the beauty of symbolism. We are confronted here with a basic theological approach. The details of this approach must be explained on the basis of the principle which is their foundation.

II

THE TYPOLOGY OF THE EXODUS IN THE TEACHING OF APOSTOLIC TIMES

WHEN we consider the number and direction of the New Testament references we cannot but see what place the Exodus typology held in the primitive catechetical instruction. The New Testament itself is the principal authority for this course of teaching, but it must not be thought to be the only one. It is noteworthy that the catechetical tradition of the Church, in particular in that touching Baptism, shows us, allied to the types found in the New Testament, others not found there, and both are worked out along the same lines. As it is well known that the baptismal rites are among the most primitive of Christianity, and may well in part date back to Apostolic times, the question naturally arises whether these allied types, forming part of the general tradition of the Church, do not equally belong to Apostolic times. The question has been asked by T. W. Manson,[1] who suggests as a basis the collections of Testimonia "forming part of the primitive *Kerygma*", some of which would have passed into the written Gospels, while others have only been handed down by oral tradition.[2] We may give some examples. The Gospel of St John gives us in the brazen serpent lifted up in the desert and healing those who looked at it, a type of Christ lifted up on the Cross, that everyone believing in him may have eternal life (3:15). This type will be found cited over and over again as a symbol of Christ crucified.

[1] "The argument from Prophecy", *J.T.S.*, 1945, 132.
[2] See Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, I, 1916, pp. 8 seq.

Tertullian, for instance, says: "Why was it that when all images had been forbidden Moses should provide as an object of salvation this brazen serpent lifted up like a man on a cross. Surely it was because he saw in it the power of the Lord's cross, which revealed the Devil as a mere serpent to all those who had been bitten by spiritual serpents, and at the very same time proclaimed the cure of these wounds of sin and salvation to all those who looked upon it" (*Adv. Marc.* III, 18; 347). Similar allusions can be found in St Cyril of Jerusalem (XXXIII, 797), while St Gregory of Nyssa sees in the serpent a type of Christ who has come "in the likeness of the flesh of sin", and also points how this symbolizes the redemptive power of the Cross. "The end of all our faith in these mysteries is to turn our eyes to the Cross of him who gave himself for us. For the Passion means the Cross, so that whoever looks upon it is not wounded by the sting of concupiscence. To look upon the Cross is to make oneself dead to the world and crucified" (XLIV, 413, C-D).

But we find another type in all these early texts, similar to the brazen serpent as a type of the Cross, yet not found in the New Testament; viz. Moses praying with his arms extended on the mountain, while Joshua was striving below. This is one of the earliest and most outstanding types of the Exodus.[1] In the Letter of Barnabas it comes side by side with the brazen serpent. "God spoke again to Moses, telling him to make a type of the Cross, and of him who would die on it, for unless they hoped in him they would be subject to war for ever. Moses kept his arms outstretched and thus the Israelites regained the advantage. Why was this? So that they should realize there was no salvation for them apart from their hope in him" (12:2). Tertullian quotes this episode immediately after that of the brazen serpent. "While Joshua was fighting against Amalek, Moses was praying with his hands outstretched, because when the Lord

[1] The parallel has been mentioned by Manson, *art. cit.*, pp. 135 seq.

wrestled with the devil the Cross was necessary, the Cross through which Jesus gained the victory" (*Adv. Marc.* III, 18; 347). We note the parallel between Joshua and Jesus, to which we shall come back later, only noting here that it is the person of Joshua which is the type of Christ, while Moses typifies him by the outstretching of his arms. St Cyprian cites the same episode in his *Testimonia* among several important texts on the power of the Cross. "Through this sign of the Cross, Amalek was overcome by Jesus through Moses" (II, 21; 89. See also *Ad Fortun.* 8; 330). St Justin particularly emphasized this theme and developed certain aspects of it: "It was not through the prayer of Moses that the people gained the victory, but because he himself was a type of the shape of the Cross" (*Dial.* XC, 4; also CXI, 1-2; CXII, 2).

A question here arises; what governed the choice of these types in early Christian times? T. W. Manson makes an important observation to the effect that this group, the brazen serpent and the outstretched arms of Moses, is found in Rabbinical tradition. They occur together in the *Mishnah* (*Rosh Hashanah*, III, 3). And the *Mikilta on Exodus* adds, like St Cyprian, the Paschal lamb. The same can be said of other groups; Strack-Billerbeck (II, 481) mentions the rock gushing with living water and manna.[1] It may be asked whether the Rabbinical traditions are not of later date. But there seems to be no doubt that, as far as the first episode is concerned, it is earlier than Akiba, and goes back to the end of the first century, and is therefore contemporary with St John's Gospel.[2] Two hypotheses may be conjectured. Either we are using groups already put together by the Rabbis and then utilized by Christians who put another interpretation on them, or they are examples of a very early anti-Christian polemic of the Rabbis. This latter view is

[1] See also Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, pp. 92-93.
[2] Manson, *loc. cit.*, p. 132.

held by Manson. But in either case we see the Palestinian background of early Christianity. But still, even if the grouping together of the *Testimonia* may date back to Apostolic times, the relative importance of certain details may be due to the position they held in the Rabbinical theology. Such was the case of the sacrifice of Isaac. It was perfectly understandable that the early Christians should wish to use the types which were particularly important in the eyes of their Jewish hearers. And in any case this juncture of Christian and Jewish texts has the attraction of giving to the types concerned a certain flavour of antiquity which allows us to see the mind of the primitive community. The influence of Christianity, even when it has simply taken up texts already elaborated by the speculations of the Rabbis, has been twofold. On the one hand it seems we must recognize with Mr Manson that the grouping of the texts in the *Testimonia* has been the work of Christians. On the other hand the Christians gave them a typological interpretation which they did not normally have for the Rabbis, except in a few cases, such as the manna and living water.[1]

By the side of the group of the serpent rising up at the prayer of Moses in the desert, which belongs to the catechetical course on the Cross, we find another which seems equally primitive, though in this case neither of them definitely dates back to the New Testament—the waters of Marah and fountains of Elim. Here again we meet these two very similar themes both in Christian (Origen, *Hom. Ex.* VII, 3) and Rabbinical circles.[2] To take the first, the waters of Marah. After they had crossed the Red Sea, the Hebrews marched in the desert for three days and then came to the waters of Marah, which were however bitter. Moses thereupon threw his staff in them and they became sweet (Ex.

[1] Rachel Wischnitzer (*The Messianic theme in the paintings of the Dura Synagogue*, 1948) gives a Messianic sense to the collection of types of the Exodus in the Synagogue of Dura.

[2] Du Mesnil du Buisson, "Le miracle de l'eau dans le désert." *Rev. Hist. Relig.*, Jan. 1935, p. 114; Rachel Wischnitzer, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

15:25). There is a unanimous tradition which sees here a type of Baptism. Though it is not actually mentioned in the New Testament, it certainly seems to go back to Apostolic times. At all events it occurs in Liturgical texts.[1] What is particularly noticeable is that it shows an aspect of Baptism quite different from the crossing of the Red Sea. Lundberg very rightly classes it among the "changing miracles", like the incident of Elisha's axe cast into the Jordan, while the crossing of the Red Sea is classified among the deliverance miracles.[2] The point is important, for the symbolism of the water in the two cases is opposed. In the deliverance type, water stands as a symbol of the divine judgement from which the baptized escape by the power of grace. But here water seems to be a sacred element which gives life. There is very evidently an illusion to the consecration of the baptismal waters, which was such an important feature in the early Church, and which is done even to-day by plunging the wood of the Cross in the baptismal waters. The basic idea is less that of the escape from death than the giving of life. Water, sanctified by the wood, is the life-giving element which makes divine whoever is cast into it.[3]

Here again the baptismal catechetical courses offer us the most characteristic examples.[4] After citing the Red Sea passage, Tertullian goes on: "The bitterness of the water was changed and the water made fresh and drinkable by Moses' staff. This wood was none other than Christ himself who transformed the waters of Baptism" (*De Bapt.* 9). Didymus, who follows him, says the same: "When Moses sweetened the waters with his staff, he proclaimed beforehand the salvation of all mankind. For he was a type of Christ; his staff was a type of the Cross; the bitter waters were a type

[1] Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église*, p. 20.
[2] Lundberg, p. 33.
[3] Lundberg, pp. 178-187.
[4] The episode has a typical sense among the Tannaim (Bonsirven, *Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne*, p. 237).

of the water of the Pool of Bethsaida, of no avail to those without faith, but in which those who had faith found their healing" (*De Trin.*, II, 14; XXXIX, 697A). St Ambrose in his *De Mysteriis* associates the miracle at Marah with that of the Flood, the crossing of the Red Sea, the story of the creation and the washing of Naaman, as basic types of Baptism: "Water, without the preaching of the Lord's Cross, is of no value for salvation, but when it has been sanctified by the mystery of the saving Cross, then it is ready to be used as a spiritual bath and healing drink. As Moses cast his staff into the spring, being a prophet, so does the priest proclaim over the water the Lord's Cross and it is replenished with grace" (III, 14; P.L. XVI, 393B). St Gregory of Elvira speaks similarly (*Tract.*, XV, 164, 18 seq.).

Together with the waters of Marah we find another type, which at first sight seems rather dubious, yet its roots stretch far back into Judaism—the twelve fountains and the seventy palm trees of Elim. Tradition is unanimous in seeing there the type of the preaching of the Apostles. Tertullian sees in the twelve fountains the type of the twelve Apostles (*Adv. Marc.*, IV, 13). The idea also comes in St Gregory of Elvira: "Moses has to reveal, together with the sacrament of Baptism, typified by the water gushing from the rock, the type of the Apostles. That is why the twelve fountains of Elim represent the twelve Apostles" (*Tract.*, XV, 166). For St Hilary, the seventy palm trees are the seventy disciples of Luke, 10:1, while the twelve fountains are the twelve Apostles (*Tract. Myst.*, I, 37). St Gregory of Nyssa sees, in the number seventy, the type of the universality of the Apostles' work: "The mystery of the Cross through which the water of virtue becomes drinkable for us, leads us to the twelve fountains and seventy palm trees, that is the doctrine of the Gospel, seeing that the Lord chose twelve Apostles to preach the Gospel. The seventy palm trees are the disciples who were chosen in addition to the twelve Apostles, sent forth into the whole world, of whom the number is the same as that of the

palm trees" (P.G. XLIV, 365C). Origen sees in the march from Marah to Elim the passing from the Law to the Gospel.

This numerical correspondence will probably strike us at first sight as rather artificial. But can we be quite sure of this? We are not to expect in "twelve fountains" a hydrographical exactitude. We can consider what light Jewish tradition will afford. From this we learn that the Red Sea opened in twelve divisions to allow the twelve tribes to pass through (Ps. 136:13).[1] The Koran shows us another tradition, that Moses caused twelve springs to gush forth from the rock (*Koran*, VII, 160). It seems certain that we must emphasize the connection of the twelve springs with the twelve tribes, as did the Rabbis, who saw in the twelve springs a type of the twelve tribes (Goppelt, *Typos*, p. 32). And as we said above, it seems quite clear that the choice of the twelve Apostles by Christ had its relation to the twelve tribes.[2] The Fathers have confined themselves to working on the Jewish exegesis, which is the authentic interpretation of the text. Once more we find the basic perspectives of the Exodus typology: the new Exodus, which is that of the Church, is that of the true twelve tribes, representing the whole of the new Israel, and represented by the twelve Apostles. When Tertullian sees in the twelve fountains of Elim the teaching of the Apostles, he means only that the Church is the true people of God, and this is shown by the sign which marked this people in the Old Testament.

The theme of the seventy palm trees leads us to some analogous considerations. The number seventy is connected in Judaism with two principal ideas. There are first of all the seventy nations of Genesis 10, representing the whole human race. They have quite a prominent place in Rabbinical speculations. Akiba thought that revelation had been given on Sinai to seventy peoples in seventy languages

[1] See Theodoret, *Quaest. Ex.*, XVI, 25; P.G. LXXX, 256C.
[2] A Fridrichsen, "Église et Sacrement dans le Nouveau Testament", *Rev. Hist. Phil. Rel.*, 1937. pp. 342 seq.

(Foot-Moore, *Judaism*, 1, p. 277), but it was accepted by Israel alone. Then we have the seventy ancients of Numbers, 11:16. Philo saw in the seventy palm trees the type of the seventy peoples (*Vit. Moy.*, 1, 34). On the other hand it is quite clear that the number of the seventy disciples in the Gospel is an allusion either to the seventy peoples or the seventy ancients. If Christian tradition has seen in the seventy palm trees the type of the evangelizing of all people (Gregory of Nyssa), or of the hierarchy of the whole Church (Eusebius of Cesarea), it is because Jewish tradition has already seen these seventy palm trees in relation to the seventy peoples (Philo) or perhaps to the seventy ancients.

III

THE DEPARTURE FROM EGYPT AND CHRISTIAN INITIATION

THE Old Testament gave us an eschatological interpretation of the Exodus, showing it to us as a type of the Messianic age. The New Testament proclaims that this typology has been fulfilled in Christ, who achieved the New Exodus foretold by the Prophets, by freeing men from the power of the Devil. The Fathers of the Church, while they uphold these two interpretations, are chiefly concerned to show that the Exodus is the type of those major factors in the life of the Church day by day, that is, the Sacraments, through which the power of God continues to achieve man's redemption, typified by the Exodus, and accomplished by Jesus Christ. The Fathers first of all show that the passage of the Red Sea and the eating of the manna are the type of Baptism and the Eucharist received on the anniversary day of the departure from Egypt,[1] and then go on to show how this interpretation widens to include all the events of the Exodus.

It is one of the most important themes of early typology that the crossing of the Red Sea is a type of Baptism, and this will be more easily understood when it is remembered that Baptism was administered during the night of Holy Saturday, in the framework, that is, of the Jewish feast which recalled the departure from Egypt. The parallel between the historical event of the departure from Egypt and the

[1] This subject has been admirably dealt with by Dölger, "Der Durchzug durch das Rote Meer als Sinnbild des Christlichen Taufe", *Ant. und Christ.*, 1930, pp. 63-69. See also P. Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église*, pp. 116-146.

mystical rejection of sin by the passing through the baptismal font forces itself upon us. The Liturgical connection between the water of Baptism and the water of the Red Sea is not just fortuitous: we can only insist once more on what was said of the Flood; the significance of the baptismal water lies not in it being a rite of purification, but a rite of initiation. In any rite of initiation there is always a certain ritual imitation of the historical event. Such was the case with Jewish baptism, which in the Christian era took the place of circumcision as the initiatory rite of proselytes to the Jewish faith. G. Foot-Moore writes: "this baptism was neither a real nor merely symbolic purification: it was essentially a rite of initiation."[1] And the purpose of this initiation was to bring the proselyte through the same stages that the people of Israel had passed through at the time of the Exodus from Egypt. Even Jewish baptism then was an imitation of the crossing of the Red Sea and the baptism of the desert (Ex. 14:30).

We have seen that the New Testament certainly sees in the departure from Egypt a type of Baptism. St Paul tells the Jews that their fathers "were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea. And all in Moses were baptized in the cloud and in the sea" (I Cor. 10:2-11), and the Gospel of St John shows us how the great events of the Exodus were types of the Christian sacraments. We have now all the data upon which to build up the catechetical tradition, and we shall seek to put together the chief texts in which it is found. We shall establish its permanency, proving that it is the tradition of the Church as a whole, and not of any particular school. As we piece together the relevant texts, a preliminary remark arises: the typology of the Exodus, as a type of Baptism, is not found in texts which give the teaching of the Didascalia, the purpose of which was to offer a spiritual interpretation of the Bible; or if it is there, it is only by way of passing allusion. The Epistle of the Pseudo-Barnabas

[1] *Judaism*, I, p. 334.

gives various types of Baptism, yet makes no reference to the departure from Egypt. Neither does St Justin, even though he is so filled with scriptural types. Likewise Clement of Alexandria. If Origen does refer to it, it is to an accepted doctrine which he develops along his own lines.

We reach the conclusion, then, that the typology of Baptism does not belong to the personal teaching of the Didascalia, or the opinions of any particular school, but is part of the official catechesis given by the *magisterium* of the Church. It is then the living tradition of the Church herself. And we shall meet this theme in the bishops and expounders of the Faith, the authorized guardians of tradition. This is specially noticeable in those writings which reflect the catechetical instructions. It seems so much bound up with this form of instruction that it is not often found in writings which do not directly belong to it; even if coming from hierarchical authority.

The first text where we find this theme—and already worked along lines to which little has to be added, is the *De Baptismo* of Tertullian. In Chapters VIII and IX he gives the chief texts of the Old and New Testaments in which water plays its part in the economy of salvation. *Quot patrocinio naturae, quot privilegia gratiae, quot solemnia disciplinae, figurae, praestructiones, precationes religionem aquae ordinaverunt* (IX). Among these *"solemnia"*, the first is the crossing of the Red Sea: *Primo quidem, cum populus de Aegypto libere expeditus vim regis Aegypti, per aquam transgressus, evadit, ipsum regem cum totis copiis aquae extinxit. Quae figura manifestior in Baptismi sacramento? Liberantur de saeculo nationes, per aquam scilicet, et diabolum, dominatorem pristinum, in aqua oppressum dereliquerunt* (IX).

This is the very essence of the primitive approach to Baptism and the Redemption. Redemption is thought of as the victory of Christ over the devil, through which mankind is set free, and this deliverance is granted to each

Christian in Baptism. In Baptism, the devil is once again overcome, man is set free, and all this through the sign of water. We have brought out elsewhere the importance of the theme of Baptism as a contest with the devil.[1] The Exodus gives us the type for this theology: what God did once by the mystery of water to free an earthly people from an earthly tyrant and so pass from Egypt into the desert, he still does by the mystery of water when he frees a spiritual people from a spiritual tyrant and leads them from the world into the Kingdom of God.

In the *De Trinitate*, Didymus the Blind is led to speak of Baptism in connection with the divinity of the Holy Spirit. He gives various types: the hallowing of the waters by the Spirit, the Flood and the crossing of the Red Sea. "The Red Sea receives the Israelites who did not doubt and delivered them from the perils of the Egyptians who pursued them: and so the whole history of the Flight from Egypt is a type of the salvation obtained through Baptism. Egypt represents the world, in which we harm ourselves if we live badly; the people are those who are now enlightened (=baptized): the waters, which are for these people the means of salvation, represent Baptism; Pharaoh and his soldiers are the Devil and his satellites" (II, 14; P.G. XXXIX, 697A). Tertullian gives just the same order and interpretations, but there is nothing surprising in this, for it is recognized that all that part of the *De Trinitate* which deals with Baptism was influenced by the *De Baptismo* of Tertullian.[2]

The theme appears again, with various clarifications in the principal catechetical courses of the fourth century. We have short sermons of barely ten lines of St Zeno of Verona on the Exodus, brief expositions of the book given during Eastertide. In the first, after he has briefly recalled the historical narrative, as the *Peregrinatio Etheriae*[3] assures us

[1] "La Symbolisme des rites baptismaux", *Dieu vivant*, I, p. 10.
[2] For Egypt as a type of the world, see Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, pp. 220-221.
[3] 46; Pétré, p. 256.

was the custom, he passes on to the spiritual meaning: *Quantum spiritaliter intelligi datur, Aegyptus mundus est; Pharao cum populo suo, diabolus et spiritus omnis iniquitatis; Israel, populus Christianus, qui proficisci iubetur ut ad futura contendat; Moyses et Aaron per id quod erant sacerdotium, per suum numerum demonstrabat duorum testamentorum sacramentum; columna viam demonstrans Christus est Dominus.*

Once more we find the now stereotyped themes of the Exodus typology in this text, even though in an elementary form. Certain other features are added to those mentioned by Tertullian. Moses and Aaron typify the priesthood which presides at the Baptism, and then the number of the two Testaments which bear witness to it; the column of cloud typifies Christ, as in the Johannine typology. In its twofold aspect, of cloud and light, it corresponds, according to Zeno, to the two judgements, that of water, which has been already held, and of fire, which is to come. There is here, undoubtedly, an allusion to the common early Christian theme of the parallelism between the Flood and the Last Judgement (Mt. 24:37; I Pet. 3:19; II Pet. 2:5, 3:7). Zeno continues: "We must understand by the sea that sacred fount in which those who flee not but bear the weight of their sin, are cleansed by the very same waters in which the servants of God were delivered. Miriam, who struck her timbrel with the other women, is the type of the Church (*typus Ecclesiae*), for she leads Christian people no longer through the desert, but amid the chanting of hymns and beating of breasts, into heaven itself" (P.L. XI, 509-510). The last few lines add certain fundamental ideas. The Red Sea is expressly identified with the baptismal font, whose water takes away sin. The type gains in precision and envelops the liturgy. The crossing of the Red Sea is thus a type of the passing through the baptismal font. In both cases this passage brings about the destruction of foes, be they temporal or spiritual. We are reminded, but in quite

a different context, of the κάθαρσις of Philo. And then we see the Church begetting in Baptism other children, an important theme of early Christianity.[1] Baptism regarded as a generation is especially common, to be found in St Cyril of Jerusalem and especially St Zeno.[2] In fact it seems especially his and fits in with his idea of Baptism. Still it is in the general lines of tradition.

I will cite St Zeno, because his typology is as concise and compact as that of Gregory of Elvira at the beginning of the seventh homily:

> It is a lengthy undertaking and *satis enorme* to speak of the Israelites going into Egypt and their bondage. . . . Everyone knows the story and it is clear enough. But it is our business, beloved, to explain the spiritual sense (*rationem atque mysterium*) of this passage. For it contains a type of a future event which should be shown, since there is nothing in the holy and divine Scriptures which has not a primarily spiritual meaning, either in revealing the past, or bringing out the meaning of the present or intimating what is to come. That is the reason why Egypt was the type of this world, Pharaoh of the Devil, and why the children of Israel were like their forebear from whom they were descended! Moses, who was sent to deliver them, was a type of Christ (VII, pp. 76-77, ed. Batiffol).

The only notable change is that Moses, not the column of light, is the type of Christ.[3] But the most important text in Latin literature, for showing how typology is bound up with the sacramental catechetical course, is undoubtedly the mystagogical work of St Ambrose, viz. his *De Mysteriis* and *De Sacramentis*. The authenticity of the latter work has been established without doubt by Dom Quentin.[4] Ambrose

[1] Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia*, p. 116.
[2] *La symbolisme des rites baptismaux*, p. 38
[3] See also St. Hilary, *On Ps. CXXXIV*: "Pharaoh, that is the Devil is put to death when the people are baptized; he was drowned with his whole army" (P.L. IX, 762B).
[4] "Pour l'authenticité du De Sacramentis et de l'Explanatio fidei de Saint Ambroise," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewiss.*, 1928, pp. 86 seq.

lists the types of Baptism in the first work: "The Apostles give you a third testimony: *Quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt.* . . . Moses himself says: *Misisti spiritum tuum et operuit eos mare.* You see that even then was holy Baptism prefigured in the *transitus* of the Hebrews, when the Egyptians perished and the Hebrews escaped. For what else do we learn day by day in this Sacrament, but that guilt is drowned while goodness and innocence remain unharmed to the end" (*De Myst.* III, 13; P.L. XVI, 393). And St Ambrose sees a sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the cloud: "The good cloud overshadows those whom the Holy Spirit visits; so he came upon the Virgin Mary and the power of the most High overshadowed her." This is a type of the presence of the Holy Ghost in the baptized. St Ambrose speaks of the same idea, with additional details, in the *De Sacramentis*, his purpose being to show the superiority of the Christian Sacraments over the Jewish *mysteria*. "What is more important than the fact that the People of the Jews passed through the sea? Yet the Jews who passed through all died in the wilderness. But he who passes through the font, that is from earthly to heavenly things—for this is the *transitus*, that is the Passover, a passing from sin to life, from guilt to grace . . . he who passes through this font does not die, but rises again" (I, 4, 12; P.L. 421). St Ambrose, whose leanings towards Alexandrian exegesis are well known, interprets the Passover in the Philonian sense, of the passing from earthly to heavenly things. He gives a slightly different interpretation to the pillar of the cloud: "What is the pillar of light, but Christ the Lord, who scattered the darkness of unbelief and poured the light of truth and spiritual grace into the hearts of men. The pillar of cloud is the Holy Spirit. The people were in the sea and the pillar of light preceded them; then the pillar of cloud followed, as if the shadowing of the Holy Spirit. You see that by the Holy Spirit and by the water the type of Baptism is shown" (1, 6, 22).

The twofold interpretation of the pillar comes from a twofold tradition. That Christ is typified by the pillar of light goes back to Judaism itself. The Book of Wisdom sees in it a type of the divine Sophia (10:17).

> (She) led them on their miraculous journey,
> affording them shelter by day
> and a starry radiance at night.

Philo sees there the type of the Logos (*Quid rerum divinarum heres*, 205; *De Vita Moysi*, I, 166, II, 254). St John's Gospel shows Christ as a column of light: "he that followeth me, walketh not in darkness" (8:12). Clement of Alexandria recalls Philo's interpretation when he applies it to the Incarnate Word (*Strom.*, I, 24; 103). St Zeno applied it to Christ quite early.[1] As to the cloud, we know that St Paul links that with the Holy Spirit, while St Ambrose links it with the cloud which overshadowed Mary at the Annunciation. This is obviously a reference to the Shekinah, to the dwelling of God in the Tabernacle, of which the cloud was the sign. What a wealth of history lies in this symbolism!

There is one final remark to be made about this text of St Ambrose. In the *De Mysteriis*, the exodus from Egypt follows the movement upon the waters of the Holy Spirit and the Flood—and precedes the sweetening of the waters of Marah by Moses' staff. But the *De Sacramentis* gives a slightly different order: Naaman's washing in the Jordan, the Flood, the crossing of the Red Sea, the Probatic pool, Elisha's axe floating on the waters, the waters of Marah. The grouping of the *De Mysteriis* is very similar to that of Tertullian in his *De Baptismo*: the Flood, the crossing of the Red Sea, the rock in the desert (which tradition, following St Paul, has seen rather as a type of the Eucharist), and various passages of the Gospel (among which is that of the water flowing from the pierced side of Christ). These

[1] See also Origen *Com. Jo.*, XXXII, 1; Justin, *Dial.* XXXVII, 4.

groupings, then, are not just fortuitous, but as St Ambrose says, rather fixed *testimonia*, which were handed down in the Church, and which each course of instruction commented upon in its own way.

The catechetical lectures on the Mysteries of St Cyril of Jerusalem are not a formal treatise on typology, but from the first Baptism is likened to the passage of the Red Sea.

> You must know that this type is found in ancient history. For when that cruel and ruthless tyrant Pharaoh oppressed the free and high-born people of the Hebrews, God sent Moses to bring them out of the evil thraldom of the Egyptians. The door-posts were anointed with the blood of the lamb, that the Destroyer might pass by those houses which had the sign of the blood. And so the Hebrew people was marvellously delivered. . . . Now turn from the ancient to the recent, from the type to the reality. There we have Moses sent from God to Egypt; here, Christ sent by his Father into the world: there, Moses had to lead forth an oppressed people out of Egypt: here, Christ rescues mankind when overwhelmed with sin: there, the blood of the lamb was the spell against the Destroyer; here, the blood of the unblemished Lamb, Jesus Christ, puts the demons to flight: there that tyrant pursued to the sea the people of God; and in like manner this brazen and shameless demon follows the people of God to the very waters of salvation. The tyrant of old was drowned in the sea, and the present tyrant is destroyed in the saving water (P.G. XXXIII, 1068 A).

St Cyril puts Baptism in the setting of the Passover as a whole and not merely in that of the crossing of the Red Sea. Further, in Cyril's mind, the Passover refers rather to the passing over of the first-born of the Hebrews by the destroying angel, rather than to the crossing of the Red Sea. And he sees Baptism in relation to the Exodus very much in terms of a triumph over Satan. We have remarked earlier with regard to Tertullian that primitive tradition saw

the crossing of the Red Sea as a type of Baptism under that aspect. The special interest of St Cyril is that he mentions the Exodus as forming part of the rudimentary catechetical course. The bond between the scriptural basis and the sacramental order may be taken as beyond question.

Support for this interpretation can also be found in Syriac literature. I will consider only the case of the Persian Sage, Aphraates, whose baptismal teaching has recently been the subject of a most painstaking study,[1] and one chapter is given over to baptismal typology. Of these types there are two, the crossing of the Red Sea and the crossing of the Jordan. In the twelfth *Demonstration* devoted to Easter, Aphraates develops the parallel between the Jewish and Christian Passover. I will quote only what refers to Baptism.

> At the Passover the Jews escaped the bondage of Pharaoh, while we on the day of the crucifixion are delivered from the bondage of Satan. They sacrificed a lamb and were saved by its blood from the avenger, while we are delivered from evil deeds which we have done through the blood of the well-beloved Son. They had Moses for their leader; we have Jesus for our Head and Saviour. Moses diverted the sea for them and made them pass through it; our Saviour opens hell and shatters its portals when he went down into it and opened and marked out the way for all those who were to believe in him (Aphraates, *Demons.*, XII, 8; P.S., 1, 521).

We notice in this passage the connection between the Red Sea and the Abyss into which Jesus descended. For Oriental theology Christ's descent into Hell is the central fact of the redemption, for it means the victory which Christ won over death in its very own domain, and the freedom of the human race from the power of the devil. This is what we mean by the Paschal mystery and also it is a biblical-patristic idea

[1] Duncan, *Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates the Persian sage*, Washington, 1945.

that a river or the sea is the dwelling-place of the dragon.[1] In this light Christian Baptism will appear as a conflict against the devil beneath the waters ("Symbolisme des Rites baptismaux," *Dieu Vivant*, I, p. 33). Strictly speaking the crossing of the Red Sea appears as a type of the descent to Hell, but the baptismal allusion is obvious. Another text of Aphraates leads us to a further point in his baptismal teaching: "Israel was baptized in the middle of the sea during the night of the Passover, on the day of salvation. Our Saviour washed his disciples' feet on the Passover night, which is the sacrament of Baptism."[2] It is a thesis of Aphraates that Christ instituted Baptism when he washed his disciples' feet (Duncan, *Baptism*, etc., pp. 67 seq.), and it must be admitted that he has solid grounds for his thesis, both exegetical (the sacramental character of St John's Gospel)[3] and traditional (the primitive rite of the *discalceatio*).[4] Certainly the crossing of the Red Sea on the night of the Passover acquires a new typological aspect, as it is not only the type of Baptism which was given to Christians on the night of Holy Saturday, but of Baptism as actually instituted by Christ at that time.[5] We have hitherto been dealing with texts from catechetical instructions on the Sacraments. But it must not be forgotten that we find the same ideas in other works. We may start with Origen, whose witness is the more valuable as he is less drawn to emphasize the sacramental aspect. In his *Homilies on Exodus* he comments on the narrative of the departure from Egypt, and does so in terms of the spiritual interpretation of St Paul: *Nobis qualem tradiderit de his Paulus Apostolus intelligentiae regulam indicamus* (*Hom. Ex.*, V, 1; 184, 2). After

[1] Origen, *In Joh.*, VI, 48; p. 157. For the idea of the crossing of the Red Sea as a triumph of Yahweh over the sea dragon, see Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 31-32.
[2] XII, 10; p. 527.
[3] Cullmann, *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst*, 1944, ch. II.
[4] *Platonisme et Théologie mystique*, p. 30; Dölger, *Ant. und Christentum*, V, 2, p. 86.
[5] See Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* CIX; P.O., XXV, 763 seq; Ephrem, *Hymnum in festum Epiphaniae*, I, 6.

citing I Cor. 10:1-4, he goes on: "You see the difference between the purely historical narrative and St Paul's interpretation. Paul calls the crossing of the Red Sea a Baptism: where they thought to be beneath a cloud Paul sees the Holy Spirit. We must interpret this passage in the light of the Lord's words in the Gospel: Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter the Kingdom of God." Origen does not develop in any detail the sacramental interpretation of this passage, but dwells rather on certain aspects according to his own particular line. We may leave aside the usual interpretation in order to concentrate on more specialized features. He comments first on Moses' remark to Pharaoh: "The God of the Hebrews hath called us, to go three days' journey in the wilderness." Origen sees in these three days which precede the Passover the Paschal "triduum" of the Lord.

> Pharaoh did not allow the children of Israel to go forward to the place of signs, and wished to prevent them advancing till they could enjoy the mysteries of the third day. Hear what says the Prophet: "The Lord will revive us after two days: on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight." The first day is for us the Lord's Passion; the second that of the descent into hell, the third that of the Resurrection. That is why, on this third day, God will go before them, by day a pillar of cloud, and by night a pillar of fire. If, according to what we said above, the Apostle rightly teaches us that these words enshrine the mystery of baptism, then it will follow that "those who are baptized in Christ Jesus are baptized into his death and buried together with him" (Rom. 6:3), and rise with him on the third day. When you have made your own the mystery of the third day, God will begin to lead you and himself to show you the way of salvation (V, 2; 186, 1-20).

By the "mystery" of the three days Origen is able to harmonize the crossing of the Red Sea with the general

theology of Baptism as a sharing in the death and Resurrection of Christ. Later he sees in the pursuit of the Egyptians a type of the devils straining to keep the soul from Baptism, an idea already met in St Cyril of Jerusalem: (Paul) "calls that passage, Baptism, conferred in the cloud and the sea, to bring home to you who were baptized in Christ, in water and the Holy Spirit, that the Egyptians are pursuing you, striving to subject you to them, I mean, the 'rulers of this world' and the 'Spirits of wickedness' (Eph. 6:12) to whom you gave your allegiance. They strive to follow you, while you go down into the water, where you are safe, and when you have been purified from all stain of sin, come forth a new man, to sing the new song" (V, 5; K., 190, 10-13). In this allusion to the devil we are reminded of Tertullian, and of the age when the strife against idolatry was still in full vigour. Origen, however, does not linger on the idea of the Egyptians as a type of idolatry, but passes to another, wherein the Egyptians typify the "passions" and the crossing of the Red Sea is considered in the light of the struggle against the flesh. This is once again the tradition of Philo.

There is the same twofold interpretation in St Gregory of Nyssa. In his *Sermon on Christ's Baptism*, we find the traditional interpretation: "the crossing of the Red Sea was an acted (δι'ἐργῶν) prophecy of the sacrament of Baptism. And, now, when anyone goes to the water of regeneration, flying from Egypt, that is the cruel despot sin, he is himself delivered and saved, while the devil and his minions are overwhelmed with grief and crushed" (P.G. XLVI, 589D). But when we come to the *Life of Moses*, the devils are replaced by our passions. "Do you not see that the Egyptian army, and all its forces, horses, chariots and their riders, archers, slingers and foot soldiers—all these are the various passions of the soul to which man yields? All these powers cast themselves into the water after the Hebrews whom they pursue. But the water, by the power of the wood of faith and of the luminous cloud becomes the beginning of life

for those who seek refuge there and the beginning of death for their attackers" (P.G. XLIV, 361C). One other of the Cappadocian Fathers may detain us for a minute; a most important text of St Basil for the interpretation of the typological significance of the Exodus. It occurs in the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* in which he is arguing with those who deny the divinity of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. One of the most important arguments which the defenders of his divinity brought forward was that if the Holy Spirit is not God, then Baptism does not deify us. The Pneumatomachi answered that the fact of our being baptized in the Spirit does not prove that the Spirit is God, since "some were baptized into Moses in the cloud and the sea" (*Treatise of the Holy Spirit*, XIV; P.G. XXXII, 121C). The objection simply leads to the identification of the two Testaments: the crossing of the Red Sea and Christian Baptism are of the same value. This is an approach diametrically opposite to that of the Manicheans. While the idea of the type could be used by St Augustine to show the unity of the two Testaments, it can be used by St Basil to show their distinction: "If they have been baptized in Moses and in the cloud, it is in shadow and in type (*εἰσ σκιὰν καὶ τύπον*). Because divine realities have been typified by earthly elements, we must not conclude that the nature of the divine is mean also." St Basil develops his thought in a passage which is a rich mine for the typology of the Exodus:

> The type is a manifestation (*δήλωσις*) of things to come through an imitation (*μίμησις*) allowing us to see in advance the things of the future in such wise that they can be understood. Adam is thus "a figure of him who is to come", the rock is Christ typically (*τυπικῶς*), and the water from the rock is the type of the quickening power of the Logos: *if anyone thirst, let him come to me and drink*: the manna is the type of the living bread "which is come down from heaven"; the serpent set up on the *σημεῖον* is a type of the saving Passion which was finished on the Cross. And equally, the

> narrative of the exodus of Israel envisages those who are saved by Baptism. . . . The sea and the cloud, here and now stir up faith, because of the amazement which they cause; but for all that is in the future, they prefigure as types the grace that is to come. *Who is wise enough to observe these things?* how the sea is the type of Baptism, for it preserved them from Pharaoh as does this bath (*λουτρόν*) from the tyranny of the devil. In the sea was the enemy slain, and in the waters of Baptism our enmity with God is destroyed. The people came forth from the sea whole and unscathed. While we come up from the waters as living from the dead, saved by the grace of him who called us. The cloud is the shadow (*σκιά*) of the gift of the Spirit which quenches[1] the heat of the passions through the mortification of our members.

We find once more in this passage the great themes, now so familiar to us, of the sacramental interpretation of the crossing of the Red Sea. St Basil then passes on to the conclusions which he wishes to draw.

> What then?—does it mean that because we were baptized typically in Moses, that the grace of Baptism is thereby lessened? That is only to undervalue these mysteries altogether if we bring them down to the level of the types. The love of God for man which led him to give his only Son would not seem so very much, for Abraham also gave his only son. The descent into Hell would not be so very astounding, because Jonah, in three days and three nights, had suffered death in type. But that is exactly what anyone does to Baptism if he compares the reality with the shadow, equalizes with the types what they signify and strives to bring the whole economy of the Gospel down to the level of Moses and the sea. But what forgiveness of sins, what renewal of life is there in the sea? What spiritual grace do we receive through Moses? What death to sin is there? They did not die with Christ, and therefore did not rise with him. . . . Why then

[1] The theme of the refreshing night is found in St Ambrose, *De Mysteriis* (P.L. XVI, 393), who was no doubt indebted to St Basil.

> do you compare these respective baptisms, which have only the name in common, but differ in reality as much as a dream from the truth and a shadow or image *(σκιᾶς καὶ εἰκόνων)* from the reality? (*De Spiritu Sancto*, XIV; P.G. XXXII, pp. 124-125).[1]

We may define from this text exactly what we mean by a type. A certain resemblance is demanded, but this resemblance will only concern the outer shell. The inner reality will be entirely different. All the events of the Old Testament have their own proper historical reality, a point which St Basil did not fail to emphasize—"the sea and the cloud stir up faith here and now, because of the amazement which they cause", and Basil is only proving that we must insist on the historical reality and literal truth of these events. St Hilary also brings out the same idea in his *Treatise on the Mysteries*. "All these events, to be sure, have their own historical reality, but this reality of human activity was in itself the imitation of divine activity" (I, 32; Feder, p. 24). At the same time this historical reality of the events of the Old Testament is of a totally different order from those of the Gospel, for the former have no longer any utility in them. St Basil will rebuke in another context those who linger in them. "Come, let us walk not in the light of the Prophets or the Law, but in the Light of the Lord. Lamps have their place, but only before sunrise, stars have their beauty, but only in the night. If we think a man is ridiculous to have a lighted lamp in full daylight, how much more ridiculous when the Gospel has been proclaimed to linger in the shadows of the Law" (P.G. XXX, 245C). The sole purpose of the Law, then, is to be found in its typical function, which can aid us to a better understanding of the Gospel.

[1] St Basil develops the same types in a *Sermon on Baptism*. "You reject the Baptism which is not typified by the sea, but conferred in reality, not in the cloud but in the Spirit. Had Israel not crossed the sea, they would not have escaped from Pharaoh; and if you do not pass through the water, you will not escape the cruel tyranny of the devil" (P.G., XXXI, 428B-C).

We shall find this doctrine of typology expressed very fully in connection with our theme by St John Chrysostom. St Chrysostom was a representative of the School of Antioch, a disciple of Diodorus of Tarsus, and as such little sympathetic to allegory. That he upholds typology is then more significant. In commenting on I Cor. 10:4, he is led to discuss the question of the relation between the crossing of the Red Sea and Baptism.

> How [he asks], is that crossing of the Red Sea the type of a future Baptism? I will explain this when you understand what is a type and what the reality (*ἀλήθεια*). What then is a type or shadow and what the reality? Let us take the example of a picture. You have often seen the portrait of a King, sketched in black; the painter fills in the outlines showing the King, the royal theme, horses, bodyguards at his side, his enemies in chains at his feet. From what you see portrayed you cannot know everything, and yet you are not entirely ignorant. You know in a general way that it is about a King and a horse. But who the King is, and who is his enemy, you do not know with any certainty until the colouring itself makes the outlines more clear and distinct. Now, just as in the case of the picture you do not expect to grasp everything before the colours are filled in, though even if you have only a general idea of what it is all about you think the outline sufficiently accurate, so, I say, should you think on the subject of the Old and New Testaments, and not demand of the type all the exactness of the reality. We can then explain to you what is the relationship of the Old to the New Testament of this "crossing" to our Baptism (P.G., LI, 257).

This comparison, which seems to appear here for the first time, is very much in the manner of the Second Sophist: it is found again in St Cyril of Alexandria (P.G. LXVIII, 140D), and latterly Paul Claudel has taken it up again: "The Old Testament by its types eloquently proclaimed the New, and these types may be interpreted in various ways—by the shadow in contrast to the substance . . . or the out-

line sketch in contrast to the finished portrait" (*Introduction au livre de Ruth*, p. 85). There can be few more suggestive conceptions than this of the Old Testament as forming a portrait of Christ worked up by successive touches, and so faithful to the "original" that Christ when he comes can say "they speak of me".

St Chrysostom goes on to apply this general principle to the Exodus.

> In both cases we are dealing with water—in one case water in a bath (κολυμβήθρα), in the other it is the sea, and in both cases you go down into the water. You would like to know now what the truth is which the colouring brings out. Once they were delivered by the sea from Egypt; now it is from idolatry; once Pharaoh was drowned, now it is the devil; once it was the Egyptians who were suffocated, now the ancient enemy is stifled beneath our sins. You see now the relationship of the type with the anti-type, and of the superiority of the latter over the former. The type need not have nothing in common to the anti-type, then there would be nothing typical. Nor on the other has one to be identical with the other, or it would be the reality itself. There must be that proportion, so that it neither possesses all that the reality has, nor is it entirely lacking . . . do not expect the Old Testament to explain everything, but even if you do find certain mysteries (ἀινίγματα) which are difficult and obscure, learn how to be satisfied. Once more then, I ask, what is the relationship between type and anti-type? that in both cases all are involved and there is a passing through water: in both cases there was a deliverance from bondage. But there are differences; one is a delivery from the Egyptians, the other from devils: one a freedom from barbarians, the other from sin. They were of old called to freedom; so are we: yet not to the same freedom, for ours is one far higher. Yet it is no matter for surprise that the freedom to which we are called is higher than theirs. For surely it is of the nature of the reality to excel its types, though without any opposition or contention (248).

St Chrysostom then remarks on a theme which we have found already in St Paul's text. The sequel of the crossing of the Red Sea, the manna and the living water typifies the sequel of Baptism and the Eucharist in the Liturgy on the night of Holy Saturday:

> In the case of Baptism you saw what was the type and what the reality: now I will show you how the Table (τράπεζα) and the sharing in the sacred mysteries there have also been prefigured. But once again do not expect me to explain everything, but that you consider the various events, bearing in mind that they are only part of a rough outline. After the passage about the sea, the cloud and Moses, Paul goes on: "and they all drank of the same spiritual drink". Just as you, he says, coming up out of the bath of water, hasten to the table, so did they, coming up out of the sea, find a new and wonderful table, I mean the manna. And just as you have a wondrous drink, the cup of salvation, so did they; for even when there were no springs, or running waters, an abundance of water gushed forth from a dry and barren rock (299).

St Paul calls this a spiritual spring, but he is not speaking of the nature of the spring itself, but of its miraculous mode of production: "for it is not the rock's inherent nature, but the mighty power of God which brought the waters forth".

This last passage is valuable for a twofold reason. In the first place the comparison emerges between the manna and the living waters of the Rock as types of the Eucharist, following, on Easter night, the administration of Baptism, typified by the crossing of the Red Sea. If we have not come across this particular typology of the water and the rock—which we may call Pauline—before, it is because the writers whom we have hitherto studied see in them, according to the interpretation of St John, types of Baptism. But the other interpretation does not belong to St Chrysostom alone, but is found in other Fathers of the School of Antioch. I will

quote only Theodoret. In his *XXVIIth Question on Exodus* he asks how to interpret I Cor. 10:2-4. Here is his answer:

> The things of former time were types of the later: the Law of Moses was the shadow (σκιά) while grace is the body (σῶμα). When the Egyptians pursued the Hebrews, these latter by passing through the Red Sea escaped the savage cruelty of the pursuers. The sea is the type of the baptismal font, the cloud of the Holy Spirit, and Moses of Christ our Saviour; the staff is a type of the Cross; Pharaoh of the devil and the Egyptians of the fallen angels; manna of the divine food and the water from the rock of the Saviour's Blood. Just as they enjoyed a wonderful refreshment coming from a miraculous source, after they had passed through the Red Sea, so we, after the saving waters of Baptism, share in the divine mysteries (P.G. LXXX, 257).

This passage brings out better than any other the value of the liturgical comparison. Though he is no friend to allegory, Theodoret does not question the mystagogical tradition, of which we have here an echo.

Passing from the Antiochene school we find the Eucharistic interpretation of the rock on the desert in the *De Sacramentis* of St Ambrose:

> What do we learn from the type which was prefigured in the time of Moses? That when the people of the Jews thirsted and murmured because they had no water God bade Moses strike the rock with his rod. He struck the rock and the rock poured forth a flood of water, as the Apostle says: "they drank of that spiritual rock which followed them; and that Rock was Christ". Do you also drink, that Christ may follow you. You see the mystery. Moses is the prophet; the rod is the word of God. The priest strikes the rock with the word of God: the water flows and the people of God drink. And the priest touches the cup, water streams into the cup, springing up into eternal life (*De Sacr.* V, 1; XVI, 447 A).

St Ambrose goes on to compare the rock from which water gushed forth with the pierced side of Christ on the Cross, from which flows water and blood, in which last he saw a type of the Eucharist.

The rock in the desert, then, according to the Pauline tradition, represents the Eucharist. But St John's Gospel sees it rather in terms of Baptism, and this interpretation is the more common among the Fathers. It comes in Tertullian's *De Baptismo*: "It is this water which gushed forth from the rock which followed the people. If the stone was Christ, then undoubtedly Christ has sanctified the water of Baptism" (*De Bapt.* IX; 208, 16). We noted that Tertullian bases his interpretation on St Paul. It does not occur in the baptismal types in the *De Trinitate* of Didymus from which we conclude that for him the Eucharistic interpretation was the right one. On the other hand St Cyprian expressly criticizes the Eucharistic interpretation:

> Every time that water alone is mentioned in the Holy Scripture, it refers to Baptism. God foretold through the Prophet (Isaiah) that while they were among pagan peoples and in dry places water would gush forth and fill the chosen people of God, that is, those who had been made his children by Baptism. The Prophet says: "They thirsted not in the desert when he led them out: he brought forth water out of the rock for them, and he clove the rock, and the waters gushed out" (Is., 68:21). This was fulfilled in the Gospel when the side of the Lord, who is the Rock, was pierced by a lance during his Passion. He recalls what had been said of him by the Prophet when he exclaimed: If anyone thirst let him come to me and drink. He who believes in me, from his belly shall flow living waters. To emphasize that the Lord is speaking not of the chalice, but of Baptism, Scripture adds: This he said of the Spirit, which they were to receive who believed in him. And we receive the Spirit in Baptism (*Epist.* LXIII, 8; C.S.E.L., 706-707).

This text of St Cyprian is very much to our purpose. On

the one hand he connects Baptism with the text of Isaiah, which as we saw represents the first line of typology, and shows that Baptism is the fulfilment of this typology. Then he connects the rock of the desert which Moses struck with his rod so that streams of water gushed forth, with Christ on the Cross pierced by a lance, and the water streaming from his side is a type of Baptism. This is an ancient theme of typology which we shall find right through tradition.[1] Then he interprets the narrative of John 7:37 as the anti-type of the rock of the desert. During the Feast of Tabernacles, which recalls the march in the desert by the building of booths, and the rock of living water by its ablutions, Christ proclaims himself as the one who fulfils these prophecies and gives true water. The principal texts relative to our theme are here grouped together.[2] The argument which St Cyprian uses to maintain that the rock of living water for St John typifies Baptism is quite clear—that Baptism is surely indicated by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. There is one other argument, viz. that Baptism is received but once and not repeated: "When Christ said: he who drinks of this water shall never thirst, he was speaking of the saving water of Baptism which can be received but once and not repeated, while the Chalice is continually desired and drunk in the Church" (707). This argument of the non-repetition of Baptism is just the one which allows Oscar Cullmann to discover the baptismal types of St John's Gospel, and especially the baptismal significance of the episode of the Samaritan woman.[3] In the fourth century we find the same ideas in St Gregory of Elvira:

> When the Israelites were thirsty in the desert, Moses struck the rock with his wooden staff and water gushed forth; and this foretold the sacrament of Baptism. The Apostle teaches that the rock is a type of Christ, when he says: They drank

[1] And already in St. John (Cullmann, *U. und C.*, p. 73).
[2] See Hugo Rahner, "Flumina de ventre Christi", *Biblica*, 1941, pp. 269 seq.
[3] *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst*, p. 57.

> of the rock which followed them and that rock was Christ. This water which gushed forth from the rock was a type of the water which was to issue from the side of Christ (John 7:37) in the sacrament of Baptism to be a saving refreshment to those who were thirsty. We know that Our Lord, the fountain of living water, springing up to eternal life, when he hung upon the cross, not only shed his blood from his pierced side but also a torrent of water: he indicated in this way that his Bride the Church was formed from his side, as Eve was formed from the side of Adam. She (the Church) received two baptisms, that of water and that of blood, which are the origin in the Church of the faithful and of the martyrs (*Tract.* XV, pp. 165-166).

St Gregory of Elvira links up the idea of the rock, the type of Baptism, with that of the birth of Eve from the side of Adam: both are types of the birth of the Church from the side of Christ, the water from the rock being a type of Baptism and Eve a type of the Church. This is a further element in our theme. We may also notice that the blood which came forth from the side of Christ signifies the baptism of blood. This idea is also found in St Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* XIII, 21; P.G. XXXIII, 800A).[1]

It is, then, in types of the Sacraments that we find the core of the Patristic interpretation of the Exodus, though other themes are woven round this core. The Gospel of St Matthew had already by its whole plan revealed Christ as a new Moses, and this idea was developed by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Demonstrationes Evangelicae*:

> Moses was the first to rule the Jewish people, and to turn them aside from the idolatrous and superstitious practices of Egypt to which he found them wholly given over. He again was the first to teach them the doctrine of the one God (μοναρχία). He was the first to lay down ordinances and

[1] St. Gregory of Nyssa explains the second miracle of living water (Num. 20:10) with reference to the Sacrament of Penance (XLIV, 413, A-B).

precepts for a holy life, and thus revealed himself as their first and supreme Legislator. But Jesus Christ in a higher and more excellent fashion than Moses was the first to teach all nations the true faith, and to bring about the overthrow of idolatry in the whole world, and to proclaim to all men the knowledge and worship of the Supreme God and to be the initiator and legislator of a new life, accommodated to men (III, 2; P.G. XXII, 169 A-B).

Some of the familiar themes of Eusebius can be recognized in this passage. Christ is seen not as revealing the Trinity, but rather as restoring a primitive Monotheism. His work is considered more as doctrinal, the overthrow of idolatry by the preaching of a true religion, than as a work of redemption. But his central theme, that Christ is the Legislator of the New Law, is certainly the development of the idea of St Matthew.

The parallel is narrowed down as the text continues and takes up the "sacramenta" of the Exodus: "Moses delivered the Jewish people from their intolerable slavery to the Egyptians. Jesus Christ freed the whole human race and delivered it from the wicked idolatry of Egypt, where evil demons held it down. Moses promised the Holy Land to those who kept the Law. Jesus Christ has said: 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth,' promising a land which is far better and truly holy; not that of Judea which is like all others, but one which is in heaven and fit for those who love God and live as he has taught them to live" (169, C-D). The narrative brings out the parallel which St Matthew certainly had in mind between Moses giving the Law on Mount Sinai and the Sermon on the Mount in which Jesus proclaimed the New Law. Eusebius goes on to compare the forty days fast of Moses and that of Jesus (Ex. 34:28; Lk. 4:1-2), the manna and the multiplication of the loaves (172B), the crossing of the Red Sea and the walking on the waters (172C), Moses commanding the wind and the sea and the stilling of the tempest (172D), the face of Moses

on Sinai being all resplendent and the Transfiguration of Jesus on Thabor (173A), the call of Joshua and the call of Simon Peter, the seventy ancients and the seventy disciples (Num. 11:16; Lk. 10:1), the twelve spies and the Twelve Apostles (Deut. 1:23; Mt. 10:1). This text affords a credible exegesis of the New Testament.

The comparisons made by Eusebius are almost all such as the Evangelists themselves had in mind and we find once again what we remarked upon in connection with the typology of the Exodus in the Gospel. But it is to be noticed how we follow here a line of thought very characteristic of St Matthew, in which the types in the Old Testament concentrate not on the mysteries of Christ, but on the historical narrative of his life. Thus the atmosphere will be quite different from that arising out of the texts we have hitherto studied. But we are plunged again into the former tradition when we meet a certain text of St Augustine which brings together all the themes of the Mosaic typology, but in a more sacramental perspective. An additional interest in this text lies in the fact that it not only states but justifies this typology. It occurs in the *Contra Faustum*. The Manicheans, as earlier the Marcionites, rejected passages of the Old Testament which were objectionable to the Christian revelation. How could these passages be defended? They could not be put on a level with the Gospel, yet they were the work of the same God. In his work against the Gnostics St Irenaeus had been led to think of a provisional dispensation, a type of the final dispensation laid down by Christ. Tertullian had devoted a long treatise to defend the Old Testament against Marcion, showing its typological value. For the relation between the two Testaments can best be thought of in terms of typology, bringing out both their continuity and disparity. Two centuries later St Augustine takes up the same argument against the Manicheans, successors to the Marcionites. The twelfth book of the *Contra Faustum* is a treatise on typology like the *Adversus Marcionem*. It com-

ments upon the story of the creation, the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, the building of the Ark, Jacob's wrestling with the angel, and all the great "*sacramenta*" of the Old Testament.

We come in his narrative to the Exodus: "It is not I who am speaking of the departure from Egypt, but the Apostle." He quotes I Cor. 10: 1-4, and goes on:

> While he explains one thing, he helps us to understand others. If Christ is a rock on account of his firmness, why is he not also the manna, as the living bread which came down from heaven? When the Apostle says, they drank the same spiritual drink, he shows that this must be understood spiritually of Christ, and he explains why he calls the drink "spiritual" when he adds that the rock was Christ. Why is not Christ also the cloud and the column, which upholds our weakness by its power, and by shining at night but not by day causes those who are blind to see and those who see to become blind. And then the Red Sea, which is Baptism hallowed by the blood of Christ: the enemies who pursued are past sins which are wiped away. The people were led through the desert: the baptized who as yet only enjoy heaven in hope are, as it were, in the desert. The bitter waters were sweet ones through the wood: a hardened people is melted by the sign of Christ's Cross. The seventy palm trees watered by twelve fountains are types of the grace of the Apostleship, shed forth upon the nations. The enemy who attempted to bar his way was overcome by the outstretched arms of Moses, a type of the Lord's Cross. And the serpent-bites are healed by looking upon the brazen serpents, which is interpreted by the Lord's own words: "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so it behoved the Son of man to be lifted up. So that those who believe in him may have everlasting life" (*Contra Faust.* XII, 29-30; P.L., XLII, 269-270).

Not only does this passage bring together all the types of the Exodus, but it is also instructive from the point of view of method. The principle is, St Augustine tells us, to start from the scriptural types and to find by analogy the significance of events or institutions of like nature. St Paul tells us that the rock in the desert is a type of Christ. But the journey through the desert included parallel events, e.g. the twelve fountains, the waters of Marah. We are justified in using the same principles to interpret them. St Gregory of Nyssa suggested the same principle for the typology of the Tabernacle, beginning with Heb. 10: 20, where it is said that the veil of the Tabernacle is a type of the flesh of Christ (XLIV, 384A). It is the same for the Exodus. St Augustine starts with a certain number of types which the New Testament offers—the brazen serpent, the manna, the Paschal lamb, the rock of the desert—and shows how around these primitive groups other elements have to be interpreted in the same way according to the analogy of faith. But it should not be forgotten—as we pointed out earlier—that certain types, though not actually in Scripture, may yet go back to a primitive apostolic tradition before the written record.

IV

PHILO'S INTERPRETATION OF MOSES

We have pointed out how the Christian typology of the Exodus was grafted upon the Messianic interpretation of that event by the Prophets. But there was at the same time as the New Testament writings another Jewish interpretation of the Exodus which would in time exercise considerable influence on a certain quarter of Christian exegesis, namely that of Philo. The labours of Walter Völker[1] and of Henry Austryn Wolfson[2] have established the significance of Philo beyond all doubt. It was not just a case of Hellenistic gnosis dressed up in biblical imagery, as Goodenough,[3] following Reitzenstein, had maintained. Philo's inspiration is truly biblical, for he was a devout and believing Jew. But it is true that he set out his biblical theology in an allegorical form, borrowed from Hellenistic culture. The Christian theologians of Alexandria will make use of this allegorical method to construct their own theology.[4] A few words on Philo's exegesis of the Exodus will not, then, be out of place before we pass on to the Alexandrian exegetes and their Western disciples. Up till now this has not been necessary as the writers whom we have considered were dependent solely on Rabbinical tradition. But now this new approach enters in, particularly for the theme of the Exodus, for, as Goodenough realized, Moses

[1] *Fortschritt und Vollendung bei P. von A.*, Leipzig, 1938.
[2] *Philo*, Harvard, 1947.
[3] *By Light Light*, Yale, 1935.
[4] It is remarkable that this is the more noticeable in Philo in proportion as he offers a Messianic interpretation of the Exodus, in dependence on the Prophets, e.g. in *De Praemiis*, 168. See Wolfson, *Philo*, II, pp. 407-409, and F. Gregoire, "La Messie chez Philon d'Alexandrie", *Eph. Lov.* 12 (1935), pp. 28-50.

stands at the very heart of Philo's work. If, as we said in the preceding section, the Patriarchs represent the stages of our ascent to God, Moses is the realization of it. "In this Mystery," writes Goodenough, "the hero and the hierophant is Moses" (p. 181). But the place he actually holds in the works of Philo which have come down to us is rather deceptive. There is no *De Moyse* in his *Exposition of the Law*, which is an interpretation of the Pentateuch for pagans. The *Life of Moses*, having a similar purpose, takes its place. Nor does the *Allegory of the Laws*, written for the Jews, offer us a *De Moyse*. Goodenough tells us the reason (p. 199). Philo intended to write it and never did so. But, from our study of the other treatise, we can conjecture what this allegory would have been. Lastly, certain other features are found in his most esoteric work, *Quaestiones in Exodum*. We will pass over the *Life of Moses*, which is simply a literal account, to study what the *Allegory of the Laws* has to offer.[1]

There are no outstanding types here: Philo will be able to allegorize his theology from the whole life of Moses. We have not come across hitherto any typical interpretation of the exposure of the infant Moses on the banks of the Nile. Philo explains this: "The good disposition (*τρόπος*) is from the birth of a man planted in virtue, whose name is Moses. As a dweller in the world (*κοσμοπολίτης*) he transforms the world into his city and fatherland, although caught in the body which smothers it as in a mixture of bitumen and pitch (Ex 2:3). From the very beginning of its existence this disposition groans because of its captivity, seized with the desire (*ἔρως*) of immaterial reality" (*De Conf.* 106). This first passage takes us right into the heart of Philo's method and of his interpretation of Moses. Like Isaac, Moses has infused (*αὐτομαθής*) knowledge. He thus represents the man who has been initiated into the life of the spirit (*νοῦς*) and for whom the immaterial world alone has meaning.

[1] I have several times used in this chapter texts which are collected by Goodenough in Ch. VIII, *The mystic Rose*, of his book.

We see him groaning in the early stages of his life, shut up as he was in a casket, coated with pitch, which is a figure of the body. He is indeed, as Philo told us earlier, "one who considered it strange that he should dwell in a body" (*De Conf.* 89). The interpretation of this casket of Moses as a type of the body is found again in connection with the ark of Noah (*Plant.* 43) and appears also in this form in St Augustine.

The dispute of Moses with the Egyptians, as related in Ex. 2 : 12, is the conflict between true philosophy, represented by Moses, with Epicureanism which finds in pleasure the supreme good. "Pharaoh's intention was to accuse Moses of wishing to destroy the dominion of pleasure by the two attacks he made upon it: first, when he acted against the Egyptian race, which set up pleasure against the soul: that is, when he killed the Egyptian and hid him in the sand (Ex. 2 : 12) which is an exiguous substance; for he considered that his two doctrines were that pleasure is the greatest good and that the atoms were the elements of the universe: the second, when he acted against him who divided the nature of good and shared it between the soul, the body and external possessions" (*De Fuga*, 148). The purpose of this is obvious; Philo wants to contrast his own philosophy with the philosophy of his time. Moses represents the doctrine of the Scriptures; the Egyptian represents Epicureanism which assaults the soul and is buried in the sand, a figure of atomism: the two quarrelling Egyptians represent the Stoics, who split up the good into the soul, the body and external possessions. Goodenough (*By Light Light*, 200) remarks truly that it is not a question of the progress of the soul, struggling to advance. Moses is perfect from the very beginning, but he strives that truth may prevail. That is also the drift of the following episode, the departure of Moses for the desert of Madian: "Moses did not fly away from Pharaoh, but went into solitude (ἀναχωρεῖ); that is he took a rest from strife, like an athlete who takes breath and revives

his spirits. He also let the divine words strengthen him with prudence and the other virtues, and then attacked with renewed force" (*Leg. All.* III, 14). And St Gregory of Nyssa speaks of this retirement of Moses in similar language (XLIV, 332B).

During the stay in the land of Madian occurred the episode of the daughters of Jethro leading their father's flock to drink at the well (Ex. 2 : 16). Philo comments on this at length. Jethro is the mind (νοῦς), his seven daughters are the seven sense powers; viz. the five senses, the sexual faculty and speech; they lead their father's flocks to graze, that is they fill the mind with external images: this is Aristotle's theory of knowledge. There the wicked shepherds intervene and strive to turn the senses from their proper function and allure them from the dominion of the mind (*De Mut.* 110, 112). Then "the good disposition, devoted to virtue and inspired by God, which for a while has appeared to be inactive, by name Moses, defends them, and nourishes their father's flock on wholesome words" (113). Good-enough remarks that Moses appears here rather as the agent, if not the precise equivalent of the Logos Saviour (p. 202). But we seem to be speaking of a theory of knowledge, rather than of a spiritual mystery. St Gregory of Nyssa mentions both themes. "After we have driven off the wicked shepherds, that is, convicted evil doers of the ill service they do to knowledge, we shall lead the solitary life, and all the movements of the soul, like a flock, will graze under the eye of the Logos, who is in charge of them" (P.G. XLIV, 322B). The interpretation is on the same lines, if more ethical in tone.

The marriage of Moses with Sephora is interpreted allegorically, like the marriages of the Patriarchs. Sephora is Wisdom (*De Post.* 78), but Philo remarks that whereas Jacob had to win Rachel, who is also a type of wisdom, Moses, like Isaac, is worthy of infused wisdom, and receives it as of right and quite naturally (*De Post.* 78; *De Cher.* 47).

But this is not the greatest mystery: "when he had received Sephora, winged and heavenly virtue, without any prayer and suppliance on his part, Moses found that she was pregnant, yet not by human ways" (*De Cher.* 48). It was the same in the case of Isaac and Rebecca. "Now I bid you, ye initiates, whose ears are purified, receive these things in your inmost souls, as sacred mysteries, and reveal them not to the uninitiated (ἀμύητος)". Philo is himself an initiate: "For I myself have been initiated into the great mysteries (μεγαλα μυστήρια) by Moses, the friend of God, and have not hesitated to become his pupil" (*De Cher.* 49). The burden of this mystery is that "God is the immaterial meeting place of immaterial ideas; he is the Father of the universe, because he has begotten it, and the Husband of Wisdom which scatters seed upon good and virgin soil for the benefit of the human race" (49). This is the very heart of the mystery of Moses. He is considered worthy to be the Husband of Wisdom, that is, to be initiated into the most profound of all mysteries. And what is this mystery? Goodenough interprets it in terms of the myth of Isis and Osiris in the mysteries of Isis (p. 202). But it would rather appear that this hidden mystery, in a language which would be acceptable to Philo's contemporaries, is the biblical doctrine of the Divine Creator, interpreted by him in a Platonic fashion of a first creation of a world of ideas of which this physical world is a participation.

Now that he is strengthened by his retreat, and united to Wisdom (*Som.* 1, 231) Moses is sent by God to deliver his people in Egypt—the soul, that is, which is in bondage to the pleasures of the senses. He makes an excuse by saying that he knows not how to speak (Ex. 4:10) and Yahweh gives him Aaron to speak in his place. Philo finds a beautiful thought in this silence of Moses: "Moses does not take delight in things which are merely probable and plausible, but he follows after the unadulterated truth. And when he draws near to God in solitude, he declares openly that he

cannot speak—perhaps because he has no attraction for that which is merely well expressed and plausible" (*De Sacr.* 12). A man who has been initiated into truth despises the talk of rhetoricians. One is reminded of St Paul's words: "my message was not in the persuasive words of human wisdom" (I Cor. 2:4). But he is "urged to study what is well and carefully expressed; but this is not merely to increase his experience of affairs, for the contemplative soul needs to know only God and his operations—but rather to overcome the Egyptian sophists who think more highly of the sophisms in myths than of the brightness of truth. When the mind is open to divine things, it needs nothing else for its contemplation, for in spiritual matters the most penetrating eye is the mind in solitude; but when matters of the senses, the passions or the body concern it—and of all these the land of Egypt is the symbol—then there is every necessity for all the powers and resources of speech" (*De Migr.* 76-77).

This quotation is of special interest in enabling us to judge of Philo's attitude to secular culture, the art of rhetoric. For Abraham it seems to be a step towards wisdom, typified by Agar. And it has no further use for the perfect. Human knowledge is useless to him who gives himself up to divine contemplation, which is a free gift, a χάρις. But when anyone is sent by God to convert men, then he should use the world's wisdom when disputing with men of the world. Here Philo is laying down principles of true Christian humanism, which the Fathers of the Church will later adopt, an attitude which at once implies the transcendence of the life of faith and the apostolical practice of using the service of culture. Aaron is the very type of the power of rhetoric put at the service of contemplation: "That is why Aaron is told to come with him; Aaron is the *logos prophorikos*: "behold your brother Aaron. I know that he will speak" (Ex. 4:14). While understanding is characteristic of reflection, speech is of utterance. He will speak on your behalf. The mind can only give forth what is stored within it,

making use of its fellow the power of speech to reveal what it has experienced" (78-79). With the opposition of the *logos prophorikos* and the internal *logos*, we enter an entirely philosophical vocabulary.

Philo then shows how Moses got the better of the Egyptian sophist and brought—that is the meaning which he gives to the word Pascha (*De Migr.* 25)—Israel from the world of the body to that of the mind.[1] The Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea are a type of the passions: "Moses praises God in his canticle for having thrown the horse and the rider in the sea, that is the four passions and the pecant *noûs* who rides them" (*Leg. All.* 11, 102. See also *De Eb.* 111). We recognize here the origin of an interpretation we have already met in Origen and Gregory of Nyssa. "The lover of Wisdom is not concerned with anything but the passage from the body and the passions which weigh down the soul like a torrent. The Passover allegorically signifies the purification of the soul" (*De spec. leg.* II, 145. See also *Quis rerum div. her.* 192). However the passions tried to cling to the Hebrews, like the herds which passed over with them (Ex. 12:38; *Migr.* 151). For this reason a man must take care not to carry his passions with him across the Red Sea. Philo finds the symbol of this in the unleavened

[1] While Flavius Josephus translates the word by *ὑπέρβασις* and understands it correctly as the passing of the angel over the children of the Hebrews (*Ant. Jud.* II, 14, 6). Philo translates it *διάβασις* and understands it of the crossing of the Red Sea (*De spec. leg.* II, 145, etc.). From him this interpretation passed to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* II, 11; II, 140 Stählin), to Origen (*Contra Cels.* VIII, 22; II, 239 Koetschau), to St Ambrose (*De Cain et Abel*, I, 8, 31), to St Augustine (*In Joan.* LV; P.L. XXXV, 1785A), to St Cyril of Alexandria (*De Ad. in spiritu et veritate*, XVII; P.G., LXVIII, 1073C). See Dölger, *loc. cit.*, p. 66. The text of the LXX gave *διάβασις*. The Gospel phrase "before the feast of the Passover, Jesus knowing that his hour was come that he should pass out of this world to the Father", seems to admit Philo's interpretation. The Syrian authors follow Josephus: Cyril of Jerusalem (P.G. XXXIII, 1068A), Theodoret, (P.G. LXXX, 251A), Pseudo-Chrysostom (P.G., LIX, 731, 732). There is a third interpretation in which *πάσχα* is connected with *πάσχειν* and becomes a type of the "Passion". Philo touches upon it (*Quis rerum div. her.*, 193), and it is found later in Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.*, IV, 10, 1; P.G. VII, 1000), in Melito of Sardis (*Homily on the Passion*, ed. Campbell Bonner, p. 30). Hippolytus (*Hom. Pasc.* VI, 2, 5; P.G., LIX, 738, 743), Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* X; P.L. II, 630B), Gregory of Elvira (IV; ed. Batiffol p. 96). It is not accepted by Augustine (*In Joan.* LV; P.L. XXXV, 1785).

bread brought from Egypt. "I think those who were initiated into the lesser mysteries before the greater ones acted very wisely. They made their cakes of the unleavened dough which they had brought from Egypt, that is to say, they dealt with the untameable passions, softening them with reason, as they would bread" (*De Sac.* 62). These two themes will be found in St Gregory of Nyssa: the passions striving to cling to a Christian even after Baptism, and the shew-bread signifying that one should not carry them out of Egypt (XLIV, 364A).

The journey through the desert now appears as a type of the soul's passage, progressively casting aside all relics of the passions which remain in it; a passage which is continuously enlightened by the Logos. The influence of the symbolism which Philo is here inaugurating will be widespread, and we shall find it in Origen's XXVIth *Homily on the Book of Numbers*. Marah is the first stage, and the bitterness of its waters signifies that virtue appears as irksome to the still sensual man. "The reason why the commandments are taught in a place called 'bitter', is because it is easy to do evil, while to act rightly is an arduous task. When they left the passions of Egypt, it is then said that they came to Marah, and could not drink the water because it was bitter. Then it was that Yahweh gave to his people his judgements and justice and then put them to the test (Ex. 15:23). Undoubtedly the trial and testing of the soul are wrought with pain and weariness" (*Congr.* 163). Those who dreaded the effort wanted to go back to Egypt, while "those who accepted all the horrors of the desert courageously, carried off the victory in the battle of life. Not that the struggle will decrease, but it will become less irksome; it was said that the bitter water became sweetened. And this persistent and gentle effort may well be called love of the effort" (164-165). For it is love (*ἔρως*) which transfigures effort and makes it bearable (*Post.* 157). This love is the desire for immortality, typified by the wood which is the tree of life: "This wood

does not only foretell food, but immortality: for the tree of life is said to be planted in the middle of paradise" (*De Migr.* 37). This connection with the tree of life is found in Origen (*Hom. Ex.* VII, 7), while St Gregory of Nyssa uses the general theme and gives it a Christian approach. "The yoke of Christ appears at first hard and bitter to the man who renounces the pleasures which held him captive when he was baptized, but the wood which is cast therein, that is, the mystery of the Resurrection, through the hope of future blessings, makes the Christian life more attractive than all the pleasures of the senses" (XLIV, 366).

The pool of Elim is commented upon in the *De Fuga*: the twelve springs represent the "lesser mysteries", what Goodenough calls the mystery of the cosmos, and the seventy palm trees the greater mysteries, those of the Logos:[1] "There are also the different fountains of knowledge, by means of which most nutritious reasonings (*logoi*) have sprung up like the trunks of palm trees: 'They came,' it is written, 'to Elim, and there were at Elim twelve fountains of water, and seventy palm trees; and they pitched their tents near the water' (Ex. 15:27). Elim signifies a porch, symbolic of the entry to virtue. A liberal education is the gateway to virtue, as the porch is the entry to a house." Twelve is the number of perfection: it is the number of the zodiac, of the year, of the clock. It is observed by Moses in more than one place: the twelve tribes, the twelve loaves of the shew-bread. He keeps also the week, multiplied by ten, speaking in one place of the seventy palm trees, and in another of the seventy ancients (Num. 11:11). "When they had reached the gateway of virtue, that is, the preliminary discipline, and when they saw the wells and palm trees, they pitched their tents, it is written, not by the palm trees, but by the wells. Why was that? Because those who have obtained the price of perfect virtue are adorned with palms and diadems, but those who are in the preliminary stages of discipline, being zealous

[1] *By Light Light*, p. 209.

for knowledge, set themselves up near the wells, where they can quench and satisfy the thirst of their souls" (*De Fuga*, 187). The Fathers will simply transpose all this to the preaching of the Gospel by the twelve Apostles and the seventy disciples, yet their indebtedness to Philo is obvious: "it is through preaching that the world will acknowledge the palms of Christ's victory" (Origen, *Hom. Ex.*, VIII, 3). Then there follow the two episodes of the manna and the water from the rock. The first represents the nourishment of the soul "which feeds upon knowledge and not food and drink. The sacred word attests in many places that the food of the soul is heavenly and not earthly. 'Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you, let the people go forth and gather what is sufficient for every day' (Ex. 16:4). You see that it is not earthly and corruptible things which feed the soul, but the *logoi* which God pours forth from heaven, celestial abode of truth and purity" (*Leg. All.* III, 162). Philo gives a remarkable reason for the fact that only a day's supply was to be gathered at a time.

> At first the soul cannot contain at once the copious abundance of divine graces, but allows them to overflow and scatter like a shower of rain. It is better, then, when these gifts have been received in sufficient quantity, to allow God to preserve the rest. In fact a residue of doubt, mistrust and folly is the result of trying to obtain everything at once. It would be a great want of confidence to imagine that it is only now and not later that God will pour forth his blessings; it is a lack of faith not to believe that God's graces are bestowed abundantly on those who are worthy of them at all times: and it is the height of folly to think that these graces can be retained in spite of God himself (163-164).

In this passage the manna is the abundance of the *logoi*, which are the graces with which God nourishes the soul. The soul cannot claim these graces for its own, but must await them from God day by day, so that it preserves dis-

positions of faith and hope. Philo's exegesis here is based upon an earlier tradition. The comparison of the manna with the word of God is already found in Deuteronomy in a familiar verse which is quoted by Philo: "He gave the manna for thy food, which neither thou nor thy fathers knew: to show that not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God" (8:3). "The bread which God has given us to eat," comments Philo (173), "is this word." The same phrase appears in the scene of Christ's temptation, which is as it were a counterpart to the trial of the manna, "that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law, or not" (Ex. 15:4). And we are reminded of the Sermon on the Mount by the interpretation of this bread given day by day, signifying the dispositions of trust in God and thankfulness which are the mark of the spiritual man; "lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth . . . be not solicitous for your life, what you shall eat. For after these things do the heathen seek. For your Father knoweth that you have need of these things . . . be not solicitous for the morrow . . . sufficient for the day is the evil thereof" (Mt. 6:19-34).[1] It is even possible that Christ was thinking of the heavenly manna given day by day and not to be stored for the morrow. There was probably behind the words of the Gospel, as behind those of Philo, a Rabbinical haggadah, which Christ and Philo will develop according to their own teaching.

Philo has also commented on the episode of the Rock. If the manna was the *Logos*, the stone out of which gushed water is *Sophia*. "Thirst, arising from the passions, grips the soul until God draws forth water from the rock which is wisdom, and quenches the thirst of the soul which is directed towards it and receives from him unfailing health.

[1] The constant analogies which occur between Philo's remarks and the Gospel are to be explained not by the influence of the former, but a common biblical piety upon which both depend. This will be found partly in Tannaite Rabbinism and it has been noticed how frequently the teaching of the Rabbis and of Jesus coincide (Hoskyns. *The Riddle of the New Testament*, p. 135).

For the hard rock (Deut. 8:16) is the Wisdom (σοφία) of God, which he has fashioned as the summit of his powers, and with which he fills the souls of those devoted to him" (*Leg. All.* II, 86). Goodenough rightly points out concerning this text that it refers to that diagram which in Philo's mind governs the relation of Wisdom (or the Logos) with the divine powers.[1] Wisdom is the angle at the summit, while the powers make the two sides. This development is based on the word ἀκροτομός which means in Deuteronomy the desert rock. But it is apparent that the stone which forms the summit of the angle is joined to the corner stone (ἀκρογωνιανός) of Isaiah 28:16. In the Gospel this stone becomes the stumbling block by which men are judged. But, as we have seen, this was also the case with the rock in the desert, which was an occasion of temptation. It would appear, then, that the connection of the corner stone of Isaiah with the stumbling block of the desert was made simultaneously in the New Testament and in Philo (See Mt. 21:42; I Pet. 2:4-7), which leads us to assume that there was an earlier haggadah in which were collected all the texts of the Old Testament relative to the Messiah as a rock. This haggadah appears in the dialogues of St Justin in company with other texts that we have cited, that of Daniel on the stone cut from the mountain and that of Joshua on the stone knives. It seems to have been known to Trypho the Jew (*Dial.* XXXVI, 1).

The whole philosophy, then, of Philo is put forth in these various stages. As Wolfson has shown, Philo thinks of the totality of reality on a threefold level. At the lowest level there is the Logos, immanent in the world, symbolized by the twelve wells of Elim; to know this constitutes the lesser mysteries: it is the knowledge of God from the visible creation. Above this is the created Logos in its spiritual

[1] In another passage (*De Som.*, II, 21), Philo sees in the stone the highest (ἀκροτάτη) and most ancient of the powers. And he refers to the same text in Deuteronomy.

mode of existence: this corresponds to the world of ideas, the archetypes of the world. The soul is raised to the knowledge of this world in the measure in which it frees itself from the senses: it is the object of the greater mysteries, of which Moses is the hierophant, and the symbols of these are the seventy palm trees, the manna, the rock. Is there a higher level still? Beyond, is the uncreated Logos, identical with Being itself. The supreme episode in the life of the Legislator Moses is a description of his effort to attain that height, viz, his sojourn on Mount Sinai:

> Moses was overwhelmed with the desire to see God, and besought him to reveal plainly his essence (φύσις), although it is difficult to grasp, and when he has put aside all mere ideas of the matter, he passes from the weakness of doubt to the certitude of faith. He never falters in his desire, but realizing that he is aspiring after something difficult to grasp, or rather something inaccessible, he continues to strive, never faltering in his quest, but rather making use of what may further his desire without the slightest scruple or hesitation. He presses forth into the darkness where God dwells, into the hidden and formless notions, that is of Being Itself (*De Post.*, 12-13).

There it was that he received the supreme revelation, not indeed what he was hoping for, but which more than compensated for all his desires. The mind cannot attain to pure Being, which is shrouded in darkness. Yet his search, if it did not attain its desire, was an increasing advance, which is itself beatitude: "when the soul who is the friend of God seeks pure Being in its essence, it goes forth to seek the formless and invisible, and will derive the greatest blessing, which is to understand that God, in his own essence, is incomprehensible to the created intellect, and to see even that which is invisible" (*De Post.* 14-15). Such is Philo's conception of the reality. The transcendence of God is for ever inaccessible to the created gaze. Our highest knowledge is the revelation of Scripture. Philo quite clearly opposes the

completely transcendent God of the Bible to the Greek idea of the divine. He is seen as a biblical theologian, as Wolfson has perfectly understood. The mystery to which he leads us is the revealed doctrine of the Old Testament. Christian theology will find a great significance in Philo's works. Clement of Alexandria will draw inspiration from it: St Gregory of Nyssa will reproduce him almost textually in the *Life of Moses*, and through him the influence will pass on to the *Mystical Theology* of the Areopagite. This passage (of Philo) is the starting point of the whole *via negativa* of Mystical Theology.[1]

Nor is this passage in any way unique in Philo.

> Do not believe that Being, which is truly Being, can be comprehended by any one. We have no means, whether of the senses or the intellect, by which we can describe him. Moses, who contemplated invisible reality—for the Scriptures tell us that he entered into the very cloud itself, understanding by that the invisible and incorporeal essence—strove with all his might, seeking from afar to gaze at the threefold desired and only good. He found nothing, nothing even approaching that which he so ardently longed for, and putting aside all that he learnt from others, threw himself upon him whom he sought and put his request: Show me thy face, that I may know thee (Ex. 33:13). Yet he was disappointed in his quest, for even the most outstanding of men had to be content to know but the external veils of Being. For he was told: 'Thou shalt see my back parts; but my face thou canst not see (Ex. 33:23)' (*De Mut.* 7-8).

Philo tells us, then, that what we can know of God is his existence (ὕπαρξις) and his attributes (*De Post.* 168). The creature could not bear to behold God himself: "It is enough for the wise man to know what follows, what accompanies God, and what comes after him. For any one who wished

[1] See H.-Ch. Puech, "La Ténèbre mystique chez le Pseudo-Denys", *Études carmelitaines*, 1938, pp. 33 seq., J. Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique*, pp. 207 seq.

to behold the Supreme Being itself, would be blinded, even before beholding him, by the dazzle of his brightness" (*De Fuga,* 165).

This is the crown of Philo's interpretation of the *Life of Moses.* Many other features could be pointed out; and these can be found in Goodenough (pp. 214-234).[1] But enough has been said to give an idea of his efforts. We have the work of a devout Jew, who is a mystic and a theologian, striving to present the Old Testament to the intellectuals at the beginning of the Christian era. We may then with Wolfson quite rightly hold him as the founder of biblical philosophy. Yet here also is a mysticism, a point which has been overlooked by Wolfson, though not by Völker: not a mysticism in the sense of the Hellenistic mystery religions, as Goodenough thought, but in the biblical and Christian sense of the word. For Philo, the Bible is not merely a source of doctrine, but also of spiritual nourishment, though Philo does not as a rule draw either of them from the literal sense of the Bible, but uses the artificial means of allegory for his purpose.

[1] We would mention only the prayer of Moses with outstretched arms, which signifies that the soul triumphs when it lifts itself above the material world (*Leg. All.,* III, 186); the "high-way" (Num. 20:17) is the Logos (*Quod Deus sit imm.* 144-158).

V

THE MYSTICAL EXODUS, FROM CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA TO GREGORY OF NYSSA

We have seen how a catechetical typology of the Exodus has been built up and how Philo gave the Life of Moses an allegorical interpretation. The Alexandrian Fathers sought to harmonize these two streams. They accepted the traditional exegesis of the Church, yet at the same time they integrate the whole of Philo's allegory. Clement is particularly indebted to Philo. As one reads the Index of Staehlin one cannot help noticing the place which Moses holds in his work. He is familiar with the *Life of Moses* of Philo most of all, which he quotes textually twice (*Strom.* I, 23; 95, 17; III, 9; 168, 3); and here are numerous references in the Chapters of the *Stromata* dealing with the Legislator (I, 23-26).[1]

He is particularly concerned to show that Moses is the initiator of all true philosophy and earlier than the Greek philosophers who borrowed from him (*Strom.* II, 15; 151, 3). However that is not a point which concerns us here. He cites very little from Philo's allegorical commentaries on Moses. He describes the Passover in Philonian fashion as "the transition from the love of things of the sense to those of the intellect" (*Strom.* II, 11, 140, 11); an explicit citation of Philo (*De Cong.* 106). He says nothing of the crossing of the Red Sea as a type of Baptism. But there is—and the choice is characteristic—one event in the life of Moses as interpreted by Philo, which Clement develops at length, that

[1] See Heinisch. *Der Einfluss Philos auf die älteste Christliche Exegese,* pp. 212-247.

is, the entry of Moses into darkness, which for Philo stands for the primary revelation of the complete transcendence of the divine nature.

In the second Book of the *Stromata* Clement refers explicitly to Philo on this point:

> The learning of these things, when pursued with the right course of conduct leads through Wisdom, the artificer of all things, to the Ruler of all—a being difficult to grasp and apprehend, ever receding and withdrawing from him who pursues. . . . Whence Moses, persuaded that God is not to be known by human wisdom, said, "Show me thy glory", pressed forward to enter into the thick darkness, where God's voice was—that is, into the inaccessible and invisible ideas respecting existence. For God is not in darkness or in place, but above both space and time (*Strom.* II, 2; 115-116).

This is a direct quotation from Philo (*De Post.* 14). But Clement does not stop here. And this is just where it is most important to see how he takes up Philo's ideas and develops them along Christian lines. It is true that the final word of the philosophy of the Old Testament, expressed, Philo tells us, by the allegory of the "darkness", is that God is inaccessible to man (ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία),[1] but it is in Jesus Christ that God, "whom no man hath ever seen" has revealed himself. "The First Cause, then, is not in space, but above both space and time, and name, and conception. Wherefore also Moses says, 'Show thyself to me', intimating most clearly that God is not capable of being taught by man, or expressed in speech, but to be known only by his own power. For his request was dim and obscure (ἀόρατος και ἀειδής); but the grace of knowledge is from God through the Son" (*Strom.* V, 11; 374).

This quotation shows how Clement is rooted in Philo, whose method he accepts wholeheartedly. For him Philo represents the supreme expression of biblical thought before

[1] This opposition is confirmed by another passage: "Moses, then, was a sage, King, legislator. But our Saviour surpasses all human nature (νηρὰνθπω") (*Strom.* II, 5; 123, 17).

Christ, of which he is both heir and disciple. But between the two, Christ intervenes. Clement, then, continues, but also corrects Philo, and transforms the latter's biblical philosophy. So we have here on the philosophical level that development corresponding to the passage from the Old Testament to the New Testament on the historical level. Clement draws a philosophy from the Gospel, as Philo had done from the Pentateuch, and along the same lines. We note especially that Clement brings in again the word γνῶσις, which Philo had avoided, since he considered that it was an unjustifiable attempt of human pride to know the unknowable God and which he rejects outright. But this unknown God has revealed himself, and in the Christian revelation there is a "gnosis", a true "gnosis", opposed to the pseudo-gnosis of the Valentinians.

Origen comments at length on the life of Moses in his Homilies on Exodus and Numbers. With Origen the allegory of Philo will be incorporated into Christian tradition and become part of the traditional typology. He is then a landmark in the interpretation of Moses. A number of instances will show us how he sets to work. Philo, as we saw, comments on the birth of Moses, and Origen does so also. At the time of Moses' birth Pharaoh had given the order to slay all the male Jewish children, and to spare the females. It was for that reason that his mother had exposed him in order to save him from death (Ex. 1 : 16). "As you will remember," Origen writes, "we have often said that women symbolize the flesh and the passions, while man symbolizes reason and thought. That is why Pharaoh, King of Egypt, a type of this world, orders the males to be put to death, as he abominates reason which can aspire after heavenly things" (*Hom. Ex.* II, 1; 155, 20). This is derived from Philo (*Leg. All.* III, 243) and is found in St. Methodius of Phillipi (*Symp.* IV, 2; 47, 18); and St Gregory of Nyssa (XLIV, 328A).[1]

[1] See also Gregory of Elvira, *Tract.* VII, 79, 2.

Pharaoh's daughter is the type of the Church drawn from all nations (4; 159, 29). Here we have a typological interpretation which we shall find again in Gregory of Elvira: "Pharaoh's daughter is the Church, drawn from all nations, washed by the sanctifying water" (82, 14). St Hilary has the same idea (*Tract.* 1, 29; 23, 5 seq.). She finds Moses as she draws nears the bank: "By Moses we understand the Law, as we have said. The Church also receives the Law when she comes to the waters of Baptism" (160, 10). The last point is important. For Origen Moses is normally the type of the Law,[1] not of Christ, and in this sense Moses is contrasted with Joshua. Origen is led through this to some curious ideas. For instance manna will be contrasted with Joshua's keeping of the Passover, as the Old Testament with the New (*Com. Jo.* VI, 45; 154, 24); the crossing of the Red Sea with the crossings of the Jordan which is a true type of Baptism (*Com. Jo.* VI, 44; 153, 16). Moses' death at the entrance of the promised land which Joshua entered, is the end of the Old Testament at the threshold of the New (*Hom. Josue*, 1, 3).[2] For Origen the basket covered with pitch in which the baby Moses lay is "the Law interpreted in a gross and casual sense by the Jews" (160, 16). Once again we have Philo's interpretation of the pitch applied by Origen to the literal sense of Scripture. The Church frees the Law by giving it a spiritual meaning. We learn Origen's principles from this first Homily. The background of the traditional typology is gradually filled in: Pharaoh's daughter is the Church, as the barbarian woman whom Moses married was for Irenaeus: the river is Baptism, as the Red Sea or the pool of Marah was for Tertullian. In other words, what tradition had kept for certain outstanding types was given a wider extension by Origen. Even here we can see Philo's influence, though an external one. The influence of Philo is

[1] See also Gregory of Nyssa, XLVI, 589C, "By the basket we are to see a type of the Law". On the other hand Gregory of Elvira sees it as a type of Christ (VII, 81, 20).

[2] Jean Daniélou, *Origen*, pp. 147 seq. (English trans.).

more direct when Origen makes use of his symbolism: for instance, pitch as meaning something inferior. Yet he will change the very content of the symbol, for he understands this not as Philo did of the life of the senses, but of the literal sense of the Law. Philo's symbolism is transposed. Even more noticeably, Origen has the habit of using at one and the same time the symbol itself and the content of the symbol: thus for instance the slaughter of the male infants is interpreted in both cases of the higher life of the νοῦς. This exactly corresponds to the three ways in which Origen was influenced by Philo, and which we have analysed elsewhere: the application of the symbolism to all the details of Scripture; the use of a symbolical method of Hellenistic origin, and a psychological interpretation of the historical data of the Bible.[1] Even in the last case, however, what has been adapted by Philo to Jewish theology is integrated by Origen into Christian theology. Clement had done this already and he continues to do so.

The next Homily is an example. It is concerned with the weakness of Moses' speech. Philo's interpretation of this will be remembered. Origen makes use of the same interpretation, but applies it to the Johannine Word. "He was eloquent while in Egypt. But as soon as he began to hear the voice of God and to know the Word who was in the beginning with God, he noticed that his voice was weak" (III, 1; 161). As an example, Origen takes animals who seem quite eloquent in contrast to inanimate things, but their eloquence pales by the side of man. It is Philo's idea, but applied to the knowledge of the Word. The departure from Egypt is a departure from the world (III, 3; 165. See *De Post.* 155). The three days of the journey are the purifying of words, deeds, and thoughts (166; *De Mut.* 236), or the three days which Christ spent in the tomb (165). Origen calls the first sense moral, the second mystical: he is simply putting side by side the influence deriving from Philo (moral

[1] *Origen*, pp. 174-190 (Eng. trans.).

sense) with that deriving from the catechetical instruction (the mystical sense). Similarly, Moses praying with outstretched arms signifies either the lifting of the mind above earthly things (XI, 4; 256, 5; 255, 21),[1] or salvation through Christ's Cross (III, 3; 170, 29), or the spiritual interpretation of the Law (XI, 4; 256, 19). Origen's exegesis is then extremely composite, juxtaposing as it does Philo's moral allegorizing, the traditional Christological typology and his own theory of the two senses of Scripture. It is this last aspect which the following event symbolizes. The bitterness of the waters of Marah is the literal sense of the Law, spiritualized and so made drinkable by Moses' rod, the tree of life, which is the Wisdom of Christ. The comparison of the wood of Moses and the tree of life, and of this latter with the Wisdom of Christ, comes from Philo (*De Migr.* 36). But as in the case of the birth of Moses, Origen in his symbolism of the passage passes from the literal to the spiritual sense. The wells of Elim are for him, as for the earlier tradition of the Church, types of the teaching of the Apostles: the journey from Marah to Elim is the passing from the Old to the New Testament. This idea will be found in St Hilary (*Tract.* 1, 37), who depends closely on Origen in the whole of this passage (See *Hom. Ex.* VII, 1; 205, 5, and *Tract.* 1, 33; 25, 12; *Hom. Ex.* VII, 2, 206, 15, and *Tract.* 1, 36; 26, 17).

The manna is interpreted not of the Eucharist, but of "the words (λόγοι) which come forth from God" (VII, 5; 211, 20), and by these Origen means the teaching of Scripture which nourishes the soul. It cannot be gathered on the Sabbath day, and a double store must be laid in the previous evening: "Man's duty is to earn merit in this life—the sixth day is this present life—for the sake of the life to come of which the seventh day is the type" (VII, 5; 212, 5). St Hilary (1, 39-42) and St Gregory of Nyssa (XLIV, 369A-C) will use the idea also. Again we find the eschatological symbolism of the week which is inherent in ecclesiastical tradition. The

[1] See *Philo, Leg. All.* III, p. 186.

rock in the desert from which water gushed forth is neither Baptism, nor the Eucharist, but Christ, whose hidden riches Moses brings forth: "it is God's will that men should drink at this rock, and that they go forward and reach these inner mysteries. This rock gives water only when it is struck. Had it not been struck, and had the water and the blood not come forth from his side we should have all suffered from a thirst for the word of God" (XI, 2; 253-254). Origen follows the traditional interpretation which connects the rock with Christ on the Cross. But though he cites I Corinthians 10: 3, he gives it—in harmony with the whole of his interpretation—a scriptural, not a sacramental sense.

In his interpretation of the vision on Sinai Origen is anxious to show the superiority of the Gospel over the Law, and here he is following Clement: "There was nothing glorious in the Law, save only Moses' countenance, whereas the whole of the Gospel is radiant. Hear what the Gospel says: 'Jesus taketh unto him Peter, James and John and bringeth them up into a high mountain, and he was transfigured before them. And behold there appeared to them Moses and Elias, appearing in majesty and speaking with him.' It is not said that Moses' countenance was glorified, but his whole body as he spoke with Jesus. The promise which was made to him on Sinai was thus fulfilled, when he was told: 'thou shalt see my back parts'. He saw what had been done in these last days, and rejoiced" (*Hom. Ex.* XII, 3; 265). Origen is interpreting ὀπίσθια allegorically as Philo had done, yet gives it a quite different content. They are not the divine powers which are all that man can know (*De Fuga*, 165). It is the revelation at the end of time of all that was hidden in the Law. Thabor fulfils the promise of Sinai. Origen catches up the interpretation of Chapter XIII of the Epistle to the Hebrews. While, then, he seems to use Philo's method, he fits it into a traditional sense. Where Philo could see only the mysteries of his philosophy in these symbols, Origen brings us to Christ. Yet his interpretation

is scriptural, not sacramental. For him the supreme mystery is Christ hidden under the signs of the letter of the Scriptures.

In the fourth century St Hilary of Poitiers and St Gregory of Elvira incorporate elements of Origen's exegesis into the general tradition. We have pointed out the extent of this in the proper place. But we find Philo's influence again in the *Life of Moses* of St Gregory of Nyssa. In the *De Vita Moysi* Philo had given partly a historical outline of Moses' life and partly an allegorical interpretation of that life. St Gregory also begins with an ἱστορία (XLIV, 297-328) and follows with θεωρία (328-429). He chiefly interprets the life of Moses as an allegory of the soul's journey to spiritual perfection and makes great use of Philo's interpretation. The slaughter of the male infants is, we find, a type of the enmity which the flesh has against virtue (XLIV, 328B). Pharaoh's daughter is not the Church of the Gentiles as it was in Origen, but secular culture as in Philo (329B). The combat with the Egyptian is the contest against evil (329C). Moses' stay in the land of Madian is the separation from the world which the soul must make, and by driving out the bad shepherds it assures the subjection of the passions to the reign of the Spirit (332B-C). St Gregory is simply following in all this what we have already found in Philo.

The Burning Bush is interpreted as Mary's virginal maternity (332C).[1] The same symbolism is applied to the manna. We notice here the tendency to substitute Christian dogmatic exegesis for the equally dogmatic symbolism of Philo. Whereas the earlier Fathers turned to the events and mysteries of the New Testament, henceforth the Fathers search, in the types of the Exodus, for the Christian theology which is gradually being formed: Moses' hand becoming leprous and the staff becoming a serpent are the type of the Incarnation (333D-336B). While Philo found biblical

[1] Clement saw the crowning of Christ with Thorns prefigured in the Bush (*Ped.* II, 8), while St Hilary saw in the Bush which was not burnt up the Church surviving persecutions (I, 30).

dogmas in the types of the Exodus, St Gregory finds the dogmas of the Christian faith; yet their method is exactly the same. Moses' marriage with an alien wife is the union of faith and secular culture. The idea at least is Philo's, though he may give the event another meaning (336D). We saw how the Egyptian army, which wars upon the soul, is a type of the passions, while the unleavened bread emphasizes that we must break all contact with the life of Egypt (364A-B). This, too, comes from Philo. The waters of Marah symbolize strictness of the virtuous life for beginners, which is gradually tempered by hope (365A). This explanation has also been found in Philo. Origen applies the same episode to temptations (*Hom. Num.* XXVII, 10), which is quite a different idea.

Returning to the rock and the manna, we find Origen's interpretation. "The stone is Christ, hard and sharp for those who do not believe; but if anyone stretches forth the rod of faith it relieves the thirsty, and faith is dispersed in those who receive him: we make our dwelling in him" (368A). The manna is a type of Christ. Gregory interprets its accommodation to the taste of him eating it as Origen had done as of Christ's providing for the individual need of him who receives him (368C).[1] And the double store laid in on the eve of the Sabbath represents the merit which must be accumulated in this life for eternity. The prayer with outstretched arms is the mystery of the Cross, or more exactly the mystery of the Cross as it gives victory to Moses and gives its worth to the Old Testament (372C). Again this is Origen.[2] On the other hand Gregory adopts Philo's interpretation of the darkness which had already been used by Clement. "What is the meaning of Moses entering into darkness and seeing God? In the measure that man's spirit goes forward in the way of perfection and gets nearer to God, the better does he realize that the divine nature is invisible.

[1] *Hom. Ex.* VII, 8: 215, 5-30.
[2] *Hom. Ex.* XI, 4; 256, 20-25.

Leaving aside all appearances, both of the senses and the spirit, he goes ever more forward into the invisible and incomprehensible. It is in this that the true knowledge of him whom he seeks consists. He who is sought surpasses all knowledge, being enshrined in unknowingness as in a darkness" (376D-377A).

St Gregory of Nyssa will develop this last theme at length, for it is the *leit-motiv* of his mystical theory.[1] The essence of God is inaccessible for him as it was for Philo (a conception which Origen did not maintain). But the soul can unceasingly advance in the obscure knowledge of his existence. Gregory, who was a philosopher and mystic like Philo, certainly followed his lines of thought more closely than any of the Fathers. While Clement has only partial allusions to Philo's interpretation of Moses, and Origen borrows certain elements, tempered by his powerful personality, for they are integrated into a whole quite different, in which the symbolism of Scripture and eschatology play a major part—Gregory transposes into Christian thought the whole of Philo's allegorical interpretation of Moses. The allegorical method is the same; their mystical and theological interests are similar. But the whole is considered from the Christian point of view. The limits of enquiry are those of Philo. The general line of approach, which sees in the march of the Jews from the Red Sea to Sinai through the desert a type of the journey of the Christian soul to God, is a legitimate development. Whether it is a nation or a single soul, it is the same God who leads them by the same ways. But while certain interpretations of details—the darkness for instance—are a legitimate extension of the literal sense, many others are purely allegorical and have no other foundations.

[1] *Platonisme et théologie mystique*, pp. 201-211.

BOOK V

THE CYCLE OF JOSHUA

I

THE MYSTERY OF THE NAME OF JESUS

In the various themes that we have discussed we have always maintained that Christian typology continues that of the Old Testament and Judaism. Even when, as was the case with Isaac, there was not actually an Old Testament typology, at least he was an individual of considerable importance. But with Joshua this is not the case. Here we meet a theme which has a prominent place in Christian thought, though little in Jewish. Allusions to him in Jewish writings, whether canonical or non-canonical, are infrequent and trivial. The most outstanding is the passage of the great haggadah of Ecclesiasticus, which is devoted to him (46:1). The apocalypses mention him only accidentally (IV Esdr. 7:107). He has no place in Philo's works. Goodenough makes a comment which explains this strange silence: "The journey which Philo describes never reached the Promised Land. He would undoubtedly have been obliged to explain why Moses could not bring the people into it, and why Joshua must appear greater than him. But this could not be discussed."[1]

The reason why Joshua became so important in Christian theology explains why he was of such less esteem in Judaistic theology—Joshua is contrasted with Moses who did not bring the people into the Promised Land, whereas Joshua did. Mosaic and legalistic Judaism did not wish to emphasize this depreciation of Moses. Christian propaganda did not bring him to the fore in New Testament times, but only when the conflict with Judaism developed. The typology

[1] *By light Light*, p. 221 (translation of French quotation).

of Joshua seems to be part of this propaganda, and this explains its comparatively late appearance. The basic element, then, of the typology of Joshua, is his contrast with Moses. Events in Joshua's life appear as doublets of those in Moses' life: the law of Joshua, Deuteronomy, is contrasted with the first law of Moses: Joshua's circumcision, as a second circumcision, with that of Moses. Joshua appears as typifying in the Old Testament the decay of the Mosaic Law, to which another is to succeed. This theme will appear very early and will find its full development in Origen.[1] A typology has grown up, then, not on the lines of a Jewish haggadah, but rather in opposition to it. A particular form of typology meets us here on which early Christianity greatly relied in its controversy with Judaism: the principle of substitution. In the Old Testament we find Jacob takes the place of Esau, and Isaac that of Ishmael. The displacement of Moses by Joshua is of the same kind.

As the early Christian typology continued that of the Old Testament and Judaism, it is not difficult to understand that at first Joshua did not hold a prominent place. The New Testament in fact scarcely alludes to him. The only event in the narrative of Joshua which does stand out—and that because it did in Judaism—is that of Rahab. Yet we find the typology of Joshua introduced into the Epistle to the Hebrews. The author comments on Psalm 95 (Heb.), which relates to the Exodus and the entry into the Promised Land. The words of the Psalm are: "I swore in my wrath that they shall not enter into my rest" (Ps. 95:11). The comment is: "If Jesus had given them rest, he would never have spoken afterwards of another day. There remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God" (Heb. 4:8-9). We shall have to return to this passage in connection with the typology of the Sabbath, for we find that the themes of the Promised Land and the Sabbath are curiously interwoven. But the point of interest here is the contrast between Joshua

[1] *Hom. Jos.* II, 1.

who did not lead the people into a true rest and he who should do so.

This typology becomes clearer as the text continues: "having therefore a great high priest that hath passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God: let us hold fast our confession" (4:14). There is very obviously a comparison here between Joshua "who did not enter into the rest", and Jesus "that hath passed into the heavens". This is more apparent in the Greek text, where we have *Ἰησοῦς* in both cases (4:8 and 14). This is, then, the idea which inspires the whole typology of the Epistle to the Hebrews: the events of the Old Testament are only types of the reality which it did not possess. This is true of the High Priest, and also of Joshua. Yet here the two themes seem to coalesce when Jesus the High Priest is considered, for the author is perhaps thinking of a fusion between Joshua the successor of Moses and Joshua the High Priest of Zechariah (3:1).

We get only a hint on the typology of Joshua, then, in the New Testament. Joshua is a type of Christ because he leads the people into the true Promised Land. But we may ask if there is not another indication, that is, the very name of Jesus. It is quite certain that the similarity of the names is a main reason why the Fathers see in Joshua a type of Jesus. Are we to suppose that the name Jehoshua which was given to Christ by the Angel is an allusion to Moses' successor? It is not easy to answer this question. It was certainly not the name which Jewish tradition assigned to the Messiah,[1] and it must have been given to Jesus because of its etymological meaning, salvation of Yahweh. But this does not necessarily exclude an allusion to the historical Joshua. This would provide a new and more certain basis for the Fathers' typology.

The Epistle of Barnabas is the first text where the typology of Joshua appears: "Why does Moses say to Jesus the son of Nave, when he gives him, prophet as he is, this name,

[1] Strack-Billerbeck, I, 63-67.

that all the people should listen to him only? Because the Father was revealing everything concerning his Son Jesus. Moses therefore says to Jesus the Son of Nave, when he had given him this name, and sent him to spy out the land, 'Take a book in thy hands and write what the Lord hath said, that the Son of God shall in the last day tear up by the roots the whole house of Amalek. See again Jesus, shown in his precursor in the flesh, not as a son of man, but as Son of God'" (12:7-10). When we refer to the text of Exodus (17:14), we find no mention of the Son of God, but only these words: "And the Lord said to Moses: Write this for a memorial in a book, and deliver it to the ears of Josue (Jesus): for I will destroy the memory of Amalek from under heaven." This raises the question of the Greek text used by the Pseudo-Barnabas, or rather we may suppose that this text was already part of the *Testimonia* in which the Christian gloss was mixed with the text. We are further led to think this because St Justin quotes the same passage of Exodus, though keeping to the text of the LXX. It must, then, have formed part of a collection of prophecies. However that may be, several points concern us here. First, we find the name Joshua considered as a type of Jesus for the first time. Secondly, Amalek appears as a type of the powers of evil.

This symbolical interpretation of the name of Jesus we shall also find in St Justin, and with him it holds a place of considerable importance. We will study the chief passages. The first appears in Chapter LXXV:

> In the book of Exodus we have also perceived that the name of God himself, which, he says, was not revealed to Abraham or to Jacob, was Jesus, and was declared mysteriously through Moses. Thus it is written: And the Lord spake to Moses, "Say to this people, Behold, I send my angel before thy face, to keep thee in the way, to bring thee into the land which I have prepared for thee . . . for my name is in him". (Ex. 20:22; 23:20). Who then is he who led your fathers into this land? Understand that he is called by the name Jesus, and was first called Auses. For if you understand this, you shall also understand that the name of him who said to Moses, for my name is in him, was Jesus (LXXV, 1-2).

The thought is clear; it is Jesus-Joshua who led the people into the Promised Land but the Word told Moses that he who would lead the people into Canaan would bear *his* name. Jesus, then, is a name of the Word, and Joshua is the prophetic type of Jesus: "and that the prophet whose name was changed, Jesus-Joshua, was strong and great, is manifest to all" (id. 3).

Evidently this analogy between the two names, Jesus and Joshua, must have struck deep, for a little later we find Justin making the Jew Trypho say, "I do admit that the name of Jesus, by which the son of Nave was called, has inclined me strongly to admit this view" (LXXXIX, 1). Justin returns to this argument, adding another point:

> When the people waged war with Amalek, and the son of Nave, Jesus by name, led the fight, Moses himself prayed to God, stretching out both hands, and Aaron supported them the whole day. . . . For if he gave up any part of this sign, which was an imitation of the Cross, the people were beaten, but if he remained in this form Amalek was defeated, and he who prevailed, prevailed by the Cross. For it was not because Moses so prayed that the people were strong, but because while one who bore the name of Jesus was in the forefront of the battle, he himself made the sign of the Cross (XC, 4-5).

We find here the three themes already grouped in the Epistle of Barnabas: the victory over Amalek, type of the devil (Justin, LXXV, 2) is joined with Moses whose outstretched arms are a type of the Cross (Barnabas, XII, 2-3, 8) and with Joshua whose name is a type of Jesus. A typological group is here formed in St Justin which will have a great attraction both in the East (Origen, St Gregory of Nyssa) and in the

West (Cyprian, *Testimonia*, II, 21; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* III, 18; Prudentius, *Cath.* XII, 169).

St Justin elsewhere strives to maintain that here we have a type, and that the whole event has a typological value—and always from the point of view of that which is most conducive to that end—by showing that this event has not been effectively fulfilled in Jewish history, and yet has not a purely eschatological significance. Judaism knew an eschatological typology, as we have seen from the Flood; it freely acknowledged that events in Jewish history are types of the end of time. What it will not accept is that they have been fulfilled in Jesus Christ. In an obscure passage Justin labours to prove this point with regard to Joshua: "For the Lord said he would wage war against Amalek with concealed hand, and you will not deny that Amalek fell. But if it is said that only in the glorious advent of Christ will war be waged with Amalek, how great will the fulfilment of Scripture be, which says, God will wage war with Amalek with concealed hand! You can perceive that the concealed power of God was in Christ the crucified, before whom demons and all the principalities and powers of the earth tremble" (XLIX, 7-8). The thought is clear.[1] St Justin begins from the LXX text where it is said that "the war of the Lord shall be with Amalek from generation to generation with a hidden power" (Ex. 17:16). Now this cannot refer to Amalek's defeat by Moses, which was an event of the past. It might signify the eschatological overthrow of evil, of which Amalek was a type. The downfall of Israel's enemies, Edom and Moab, was a common feature of eschatological descriptions of the Messianic times in Jewish literature. The Testament of Simeon mentions Amalek also (2:3), because he returned on false pretences before the conquest of the Promised Land and in a context distinctly eschatological. Justin is, then,

[1] See also CXXXL, 4-5: "The memorial of Amalek remained after the Son of Nave: but he makes it manifest through Jesus who was crucified, of whom also those symbols were fore-announcements of all that would happen to him."

intending to allude to the eschatological interpretation which the Jews gave to this phrase of Exodus. He shows that it is impossible because of the allusion to the "hidden" power. The word would not be used in connection with the Parousia of glory. There must then be a hidden Parousia which allows a hidden victory. We can see how Christian typology has been built up along its own lines both by an extension of, and reaction against, the eschatological typology of Judaism.

One last problem remains, viz. the duality of Moses and Joshua in this episode. St Justin offers a twofold interpretation: "The two Advents of Christ were symbolically announced and told beforehand by what Moses and Joshua did. For the one of them, stretching out his hands, remained till evening on the hill, his hands being supported, and this reveals a type of nothing else than the Cross: the other, whose name was altered to Jesus, led the fight, and Israel conquered. Now this took place in both these holy men and prophets of God, that you may perceive how one of them could not bear up both the mysteries: I mean the type of the Cross and the type of the Name. For this is, was, and shall be, the strength of him alone, whose name every power dreads" (CXI, 2). The first interpretation shows Moses as a type of the first Parousia and Joshua the type of the second. It apparently contradicts what we have just said and shows the liberty Justin allows himself in his types. Moses sometimes represents the Old Testament contrasted with Christ, and sometimes Christ himself; Joshua sometimes represents the first Parousia as against the second, or sometimes the second as opposed to the first. The second interpretation is more important. We have already met these doublets in the case of Isaac and the ram. They show that the personality of Christ is too rich to be exhausted by one type alone, and that these various types set together contribute to the complete type of Christ.

We have now two basic elements in the typology of

Joshua: his name and his victory over Amalek. In a further passage Justin resumes and rounds them off:

> What I mean is this. Jesus (Joshua), as I have frequently remarked, who was called Auses, when he was sent to spy out the land of Canaan, was called by Moses Jesus. Why he did this you neither ask, nor make enquiries, because Christ has escaped your notice; and though you read, you do not understand; and though you hear that Jesus is our Christ you do not consider that that name was bestowed on him purposely. . . . But since not only was his name changed, but he was also appointed successor to Moses, being the only one of his contemporaries who came out of Egypt, he led the surviving people into the Holy Land; and as he, not Moses, led the people into the Holy Land, and as he distributed by lot to those who entered with him, so also Jesus Christ will turn again the dispersion of the people, and will distribute the good land to each one, though not in the same manner. For the former gave them a temporary inheritance, seeing that he is neither Christ who is God, nor the Son of God: the latter after the Holy Resurrection will give us eternal possession. . . . The former is said to have circumcised the people a second time with knives of stone, which was a sign of this circumcision with which Jesus Christ has circumcised us from idols made of stone, and has collected together those who were circumcised from the uncircumcision, i.e. from the error of the world, in every place by the knives of stone, which are the words of our Lord Jesus. For I have shown that Christ was proclaimed by the Prophets in parables a Stone and a Rock (CXIII, 1-7).

Justin introduces certain new features here, and some of them he develops. Joshua is Moses' successor, for he alone brought the people into the Holy Land. Two points are particularly dear to Justin. The first is the dividing of the land, in which he sees a type of the distribution of the inheritance to the elect, at first during the earthly millennium, then during eternity. Origen will develop this theme considerably. The second is that of the second circumcision, in which Justin sees a type of that spiritual circumcision of which St Paul speaks and of which the first is the type. We shall notice the same doubling of types in connection with the themes of the seventh and eighth days: the circumcision of the Exodus from Egypt is a type of Baptism: but the second circumcision is a prophecy since it indicates that there must be a second circumcision and that the first was figurative. Justin further connects the stones of the circumcision with the Pauline theme of Christ as the rock of the desert. This reoccurs in CXIV, 4, with a new reference to the "corner stone" (Is. 27:16), in which the First Epistle of St Peter (2:6) and the Epistle to the Ephesians (2:20) saw a type of Christ, and the stone cut out of the mountain (Dan. 2:34).[1] He connects in this way the stone of the Book of Joshua with the scriptural theme of the Christ-Rock which he develops elsewhere (*Dial.* LXXVI, 1; LXX, 1); and which is found earlier in the Pseudo-Barnabas (VI, 2) and in Irenaeus (IV, 25, 1; III, 21, 7).[2] The symbolism of the stone of Joshua is found again after Justin in Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 9) and Hippolytus (*Com. Cant.* 22). In this symbolism of the stone of Joshua we have one of those detailed assimilations which are common in Justin, and which goes into the details: this is allied with Rabbinical methods, of which, as we learn, Justin made use in arguing with Trypho, though it belongs to a vanished culture. The successors of St Justin up till Origen have nothing very considerable to add to this rich typology of Joshua. Irenaeus contrasts Joshua, as type of the New Testament, with Moses, type of the Law: "those who believed in him were put in possession of the heritage not by Moses, but by Jesus, who delivered us from Amalek and brings us to the Kingdom of the Father" (*Demonstration* 40).[3] Clement makes only a passing allusion to the name of Jesus as foretold in the Law, being a type of, and symbolically

[1] See also *Dial.* XXIV.
[2] See Tert., *Adv. Jud.* 13 and 14 (See above pp. 164 and 212-213).
[3] See Frag. 19; P.G. VII, 1241A.

designated Jesus, the Son of God (*Ped.* 1, 7; Staehlin, p. 125, 30). This need not surprise us when we remember how much he is dependent on Philo, who had no place for the symbolism of Joshua. It is part of the purely Christian tradition. After St Justin we find it in Tertullian, who is dependent here on Justin: "Why did Christ wish to be called Jesus, a name which among the Jews was not one of any great expectation?" (*Adv. Marc.* III, 16). This remark confirms the slight place of Joshua in Jewish eschatology. Tertullian goes on:

> We say that [the name of Jesus given to the son of Nave] was a type in advance of him who should come (*figura futuri*). As Jesus Christ had to lead a new people, that is to say, we who were born in the desert of this world, into the Promised Land flowing with milk and honey, that is into the possession of eternal life, and as this is achieved not through Moses, that is the works of the Law, but through Jesus, that is through the grave of the Gospel, after we have been circumcised by the knife of stone—that is, by Christ's precepts, for Christ is the Stone—so the man who was prepared to be the image of this mystery, was the first who bore in type the Lord's name, receiving the surname of Jesus (*Adv. Marc.* III, 16; *Adv. Jud.* 9; See also *Adv. Marc.* III, 18; *Adv. Jud.*, 10; *Adv. Marc.*, IV, 7).

His dependence on St Justin is obvious.

In the course of earlier studies we have often had occasion to contrast the allegorical exegesis of Origen with the common typological tradition of the Church, and to remark that if Origen knew this tradition he did not linger in it, but preferred to seek a moral and anagogical interpretation. But the study of the extensive typology of Joshua contradicts this approach. In the Homilies on Joshua, Origen appears quite differently; and in the direct line of the general tradition of the Church. He takes up and develops the traditional themes: the name of Joshua, the victory over Amalek, the salvation of Rahab. He also develops in its eschatological

significance the fall of Jericho, a theme which we have not yet met. All this exegesis is part and parcel of the common tradition of the Church, which gives it a separate and eminent place in Origen's work. There is nothing pointless in it, and Visher's interpretation of the Joshua episode is quite in harmony with that of Origen and represents the tradition of the Church. Why is it that in the Homilies on Joshua we are concerned only with this tradition? The reason is simple enough and agrees with a remark that we have already made —though this does prevent it from being highly instructive: it is that there did not exist on this subject any exegetical tradition either in Philo, the Rabbis, or in Gnosticism; this is a matter of considerable consequence, since it allows us to see that Philo's exegesis was never assimilated by Origen, but it was merely a tradition which he reproduced. Where no such tradition existed, as is the case here, his genius finds its field in the authentic tradition of the Church. We must not confine Origen's allegorizing to Philo's methods. It is not to be denied that there are in his work elements borrowed from Philo, but he is also an eminent witness of the common tradition, and this we shall endeavour to prove.

We shall draw the chief interpretations from the following text, one of the most beautiful of all. Origen's starting point is the analogy of the names of Jesus and Joshua. "God has given to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ a name which is above every name. That is why, at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth and under the earth" (I, 1; 825A). Origen notes that for many generations no one bore that name. It appears for the first time in Ex. 17:9, when Moses sends Joshua to fight against Amalek: "We meet the name of Jesus for the first time when we see him as head of the army. From this first acquaintance with the name of Jesus I learn the mystery of its symbolism (*sacramentum mysterii*): Jesus is the leader of the army." After mentioning a few other points of resemblance between Jesus and Joshua, Origen continues:

"Where is all this leading us to? To this, that this book is not concerned so much with the deeds of Jesus the Son of Nave, but it portrays for us the mysteries (*sacramenta*) of my Lord Jesus. It was he who received authority after Moses, it was he who led the army in triumph over Amalek, who has been prefigured by the outstretched arms on the mountain, and who has triumphed over the principalities and powers, nailing them to the Cross in his person. Thus Moses is dead, for the Law has been destroyed" (I, 3; 828A-B). Once again the traditional themes: the name of Jesus and the victory over Amalek. But particularly we have the general statement that the whole book of Joshua is a *sacramentum* of Christ.

Origen also suggested a third feature: Joshua's succession to Moses is a type of the Gospel succeeding the Law. This also comes from St Justin. Origen takes it up in a remarkable passage in which he develops the theme of the disappearance of the typical law in face of the reality:

> We must explain the death of Moses, for if we understand how Moses died we shall understand how Jesus reigns. If you see Jerusalem destroyed, the altar overthrown, no sacrifices or holocausts, nor priests nor levites—when you see all this finished, say that Moses the servant of the Lord is dead. If you do not see anyone come three times before the face of the Lord, or offering gifts in the temple, killing the Paschal lamb, eating unleavened bread, offering first fruits, or consecrating the first born, when you see none of these things being done, then say that the Lord's servant Moses is dead. But when you see peoples embracing the faith, churches being built, altars no longer drenched with animals' blood, but consecrated with the precious blood of Jesus Christ, when you see priests and levites no longer occupied with the blood of goats and bulls, but with the word of God through the grace of the Holy Spirit, then say that Jesus has taken and occupies the chief place in succession to Moses, not Jesus the son of Nave, but Jesus the Son of God (II, 1; 834B).

The whole levitical dispensation is here under discussion, the whole dispensation of which Moses is the symbol. The death of Moses is a type of the end of the levitical cult, of which Origen has particularized the main features—it is a sign that the Law is at an end. Another dispensation has come into being, of which the first was the type—and the parallelism between the levitical cult and the Christian rites make this passage a capital one for the typology of faith—and it is of this dispensation that Moses' successor Joshua was the symbol. Origen goes on:

> When you see that Christ our Passover has been immolated, and you eat the unleavened bread of sincerity, when you see the good earth of the Church yielding fruit thirty, sixty and a hundred fold, I mean widows, virgins and martyrs, when you see the people of Israel increased, of those who are born not of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God, and when you see the sons of God who were scattered, gathered together in him; when you see the people keeping the Sabbath not by refraining from toil but from sin —when you see all these things, say that Moses the servant of the Lord is dead and that Jesus, the Son of God, has all authority (*id.*).

In this passage the whole traditional typology of the Passover, the Sabbath, the sacrifices, the priesthood are united in one of the most beautiful texts ever inspired by typology.

The Joshua-Jesus theme passes into the whole of later tradition. Eusebius, who is a disciple of both St Justin and Origen, gives it a special place. We note that the name of Jesus which Moses gave to the Son of Auses seemed to him to belong to a special revelation from God:

> Moses was inspired by the divine Spirit to foresee clearly the name of Jesus; and he deemed this name worthy of special honour. Till it was made known to Moses, it had never been on man's lips before: he bestowed the name of Jesus on him first of all, and only on him, who he knew would succeed (in

type and symbol) after his death to the supreme command. His successor had not previously been called Jesus, but his parents had called him Auses. Moses called him Jesus, giving him that name as if it were a mark of great distinction, far greater than a kingly diadem; for of a truth Jesus the Son of Nave himself bore the image of our Saviour, who after Moses and that typical service which Moses transmitted, succeeded to the Headship of a pure and true religion. (*Hist. Eccles.* I, 3).

The same ideas are found in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* (IV, 7; P.G. XXII, 325C-D); here we find once more the two essential themes of the identity of name between Jesus and Joshua, and of Joshua's succession to Moses, as a type of the succession of the Gospel to the Law. That Eusebius should put this theme at the beginning of his *Ecclesiastical History* shows its traditional character. We have all the basic elements of the Joshua Cycle.[1]

In St Cyril of Jerusalem we find a different interpretation, for the author represents the typology of St Matthew. He sets out to show that Joshua was the type of the historical events in the life of Jesus:

Moses conferred these two titles (Jesus and Christ) on two most special men: changing the name of his own successor in the government, Auses, to Jesus; and surnaming his brother Aaron, Christ, that by two special men he might represent at once the High priesthood and the Kingdom of him who was to come, the One Jesus Christ . . . and Jesus the son of Nave was a type of him in many things. When he began his government of the people he began at Jordan, whence Christ also, after Baptism, began his Gospel. The son of Nave appoints the Twelve, who were to divide the inheritance; and Jesus sends for the Twelve Apostles, the heralds of truth, into the whole world (X, 11; P.G. XXXIII, 676B).

In St Zeno of Verona we are in St Justin's tradition again, with the symbolism of the stone knives: "Jesus the son of

[1] There is the same development in Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* IV, 17; P.L. VI, 500-501.

Nave is a type of Christ, who is known as the Saviour of all, both by his name and his work.[1] It is he, indeed, because he is called a stone, who has really fashioned the stone knives, that is to say, men formed by his teaching, for the spiritual circumcision of mankind" (I, 13; P.L. XI, 351A-B). St Augustine will sum up the two chief features of the name and the leading into the Promised Land: "He will see Joshua lead the people into the Promised Land, for it was not without reason that this Leader, right from the beginning, bore his name" (*Contra Faust.* XII, 322).

[1] So also St. Jerome: "Joshua was a type of the Lord, not only by his name, but also in his work" (*Epist.* LIII; P.L. XXII, 545).

II

RAHAB A TYPE OF THE CHURCH

We have seen that the typology of Joshua seems purely Christian in its origins. But there is one exception to this, and that is an episode which is one of the earliest in the history of typology, the story of the harlot Rahab. In fact this theme was a subject of Jewish speculation at the time of Christ. Rahab is put forward as an example of the saving power of works.[1] She is endowed with the spirit of prophecy (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* V, 1, 13), a point not mentioned in the Old Testament and which we find again in the Fathers. But especially she is seen as the type of the pagans who are incorporated into the *ecclesia*, the people of God. And she is spared in the catastrophe which befell Jericho.[2] These are the two principal points which Christian typology will work upon. It will see in Rahab the type of the fullness of truth of the New Testament, when the pagan peoples enter into the true *ecclesia*, and the necessity of belonging to this *ecclesia* to escape the judgement of God. It seems, then, that the importance which Rahab held in the typology of the early Church was due to the place which she already held in Judaism and to the universalist typology which was built from it.

There is no typology of Rahab, strictly speaking, in the New Testament. But at least she holds in it an important place in relation to that which she held in Judaism. In the first place, we see her appear in the genealogy of Christ (Mt. 1:5). Rabbinical tradition considered that Rahab was

[1] Strack-Billerbeck, p. 21.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 22.

rewarded by having prophets and priests among her descendants, but it did not count her among the ancestors of the family of David.[1] But why did Matthew retain her name as well as that of Ruth? Apparently to emphasize the non-Jewish elements among Christ's ancestors and to indicate that he came to bring salvation to all men. This should be a typological finger-post. Rahab, the pagan ancestor of Christ, is a type of the pagans whom Christ came to save. She appears in the great haggadah of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "by faith Rahab the harlot perished not with the unbelievers, receiving the spies with peace" (11:31). As it is the only event in the story of Joshua which this haggadah mentions, we may assume that it was the best known among the Jews at that time. The subject of Rahab's faith appears, which we shall often meet again. The Epistle of St James, with its well-known Jewish affinities, also alludes to Rahab: "and in like manner also Rahab the harlot; was she not justified by works, receiving the messengers?" (2:25). This is a direct echo of the Rabbinical tradition. It is curious to see Rahab put forward by the Epistle of St James as an example of salvation by works, and by the Epistle to the Hebrews as an example of salvation by faith. Is there here a vestige of controversy? At all events we see that Rahab held a *locus classicus* in the arguments of the time.

On the whole the texts dealing with Rahab in the New Testament belong rather to moral haggadah continuing those of Judaism, rather than to typology strictly so called. This first appears in the earliest non-canonical author, the Epistle of St Clement. This is the more striking as the drift of the text is moral rather than typological. If he retains the typology of Rahab he can have received it only from tradition. We are taken back, then, to the earliest days of the Christian Church: "It is by her faith and hospitality that the harlot Rahab was saved" we read (XII, 1). It is to be noted that St Clement includes both the justification

[1] Strack-Billerbeck, I, p. 22.

by faith of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the justification by works of the Epistle of St James. Then he mentions the episode of the spies of Joshua who were received and hidden by Rahab, and the directions they gave to Rahab to gather all her relatives together in her house: "and they gave her a sign (σημεῖον), which was that she was to hang from her house a scarlet cord". And he concludes: "this was to show clearly beforehand that the blood of the Lord should bring redemption (λύτρωσις) to all those who believe and hope in God. You see, dearly beloved, that this woman had not only faith, but the gift of prophecy" (XII, 7, 8). The idea of the spirit of prophecy is in conformity with all that we have met in Josephus. But it is chiefly the typology of the episode that stands out. The saving of Rahab is a type of the saving of men through the blood of Christ. Clement adds another point which will occur again in later tradition: the scarlet cord hung from her window as a sign and protection from extermination, is a type of the blood of Christ which saves all those marked with it from chastisement.[1] This is a characteristic of the Fathers. They are anxious to bring out not only the "theological" analogies of the two Testaments, as in this case of the preservation of Rahab and the salvation of men, but also the incidental resemblances: thus the wood of Marah recalls the wood of the Cross, the water of Marah recalls the water of Baptism. A. G. Hebert calls these resemblances "illustrative".[2] They are justified by the Fathers on the ground that nothing in Scripture can be fortuitous, and since it was by means of the wood that God had changed the waters of Marah, and by the scarlet sign that he saved Rahab, there must be some reason for them.[3] This principle can be disputed. We ought to insist that to be understood rightly these "signs" should not be separated

[1] This analogy has been facilitated by the fact that the Greek word for the sign of Rahab (σημεῖον) was applied by the Fathers to the Cross (Justin, *Dial.* XCIV, 1).
[2] *The Authority of the Old Testament*, p. 214.
[3] St Hilary, *Tract. Myst.* I, 33; 25, 5-18.

from their theological context. They are data which serve to emphasize this context. This seems to be quite in conformity with the Rabbinical approach. Philo has many examples of this kind. In St John's Gospel the sign of the bone which was not broken, when applied to the legs of Jesus which were not broken, is evidently meant to show that Christ has fulfilled the theology of the Paschal lamb.

The details of the above passage suggest a text of St Justin in which the theology of the episode is examined more thoroughly:

> And the blood of the Passover, sprinkled on each man's door-posts and lintel, delivered those who were saved in Egypt, when the first-born of the Egyptians were destroyed. . . . And as the blood of the Passover saved those who were in Egypt, so also the blood of Christ will deliver from death those who have believed. . . . For the sign of the scarlet thread, which the spies sent to Jericho by Joshua, son of Nave, gave to Rahab the harlot, telling her to bind it to the window through which she let them down to escape from their enemies, also manifested the symbol of the blood of Christ, by which those who were at one time harlots and evil persons out of all nations are saved, receiving remission of sins, and continuing to sin no longer (CXI, 3-4).

The comparison of the passing over of the first-born (of the Israelites) throws at once a light on the episode of Rahab. Indeed, they are both really concerned with the same truth: chastisement is to fall upon sinful humanity, and those alone will escape who are marked with the scarlet sign. The scarlet colour of Rahab's cord also recalls the lamb's blood on the doors of the first-born of the Hebrews. The analogy here only lies in the resemblances and we may be surprised that the Fathers have commented upon it. But in their mind the analogy of these resemblances is based on the underlying truths: the protection of a harlot from a general massacre through the hanging of a scarlet thread from her window is in itself an insignificant detail, and it has been preserved

because it calls up the event of the Passover. Some probability is added by the fact that the two "signs", the lamb's blood and the scarlet cord, are both described by the same word σημεῖον (in Hebrew *oth*). So it seems that the episode of Rahab was, as it were, a first rehearsal of the Passover. And is not the whole Scripture a rehearsal of the great themes of the Pentateuch until their fulfilment in Christ?

However this be, in St Justin the typology of Rahab has the mark of the most authentic bibilical typology. There is no more important theme than that of the punishment of guilty humanity, from which only the Just Man and those marked with his blood are excepted. We have met this theme in the episode of the Flood, and St Justin is careful to explain that only those who belong to the ark—that is the Cross—are saved. We find this again in the avenging angel "passing over" the houses marked with the blood of the lamb. Here again death will spare the harlot Rahab, from whose window hangs the scarlet thread, in which we may see an allusion to the blood of the lamb. Rahab is a type of sinful humanity, and particularly of the Gentiles, shut out of the covenant and saved by the mercy of Christ, since Rahab does not belong to Israel. Most rightly, then, does she appear as one of the most ancient types of the Church.

St Irenaeus takes up the idea in a striking passage:

> So also did Rahab the harlot, while condemning herself, because she was a gentile, receive the three *speculatores* who were spying out the land; which three were doubtless the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and hid them in her home. And when the entire city in which she lived fell to ruins at the sounding of the seven trumpets, Rahab and all her house were preserved, through faith in the scarlet sign; as the Lord declared to those who did not receive him—the Pharisees, that is—and to those who despised the scarlet thread, which signified the Passover and the redemption and the exodus from Egypt, that the publicans and the harlots go into the Kingdom of heaven before you (*Adv. Haer.* IV, 20, 12).

The allusion to the fall of Jericho heightens the analogy between the episode and the Flood. And once more we find the parallel with the Passover. The theology of Rahab seems now quite fixed: it is through faith in the redeeming power of the blood of Christ, typified by the scarlet thread, that the sinner will escape damnation. The allusion to the Trinity is not to be overlooked, and this is explained when we remember that the word which means to spy upon (κατασκοπεῦσαι) is also the word which Greek philosophy applied to Providence in its surveying of the world. But the allusion to the Gospel saying is more interesting, for it is not impossible that there is a veiled allusion to Rahab in it, which at all events underlines the continuity of the two covenants.

The three witnesses whom we have examined—St Clement of Rome, St Justin and St Irenaeus of Lyons—all belong to the Western tradition. When we pass to the Alexandrian School we find that the typology of Rahab is almost totally absent. There is nothing in the Pseudo-Barnabas or in Clement of Alexandria. Origen, who has a considerable number of homilies on Joshua, is the only exception, so we may examine what he has to say. Rahab appears in the Third Homily (P.G. XII, 839D). Origen first connects the *exploratores* not with the Trinity, as did Irenaeus, but with the Angels. Then he passes to Rahab herself. "Let us now see who this harlot is. Her name is Rahab: now Rahab means *latitudo*. What is this breadth, save the Church of Christ which is made up of sinners and harlots. It is this breadth which receives the spies of Jesus (Joshua). . . . There is another harlot whom the prophet Osee is commanded to take to himself, a type no doubt of the Church made up of the Gentiles" (840A). The connection with the prophet Osee has already been made by Irenaeus, and is found again in St Hilary.[1] The harlot of Osee and Rahab

[1] See also St Jerome (P.L. XXV, 817). Joshua was first called Osee (Num. 13:17).

were considered from earliest times as types of sinners saved by Christ. But Origen more particularly sees here the Church made up of the heathen in contrast with the Synagogue. Rahab is then explicitly the type of the Church. The etymology of the name is not here taken from Philo, since the etymology of the name does not occur in him. It is found elsewhere (Wutz, *On. Sacra.* II, 709-799).

Origen goes on: "Such was this harlot who is said to have received the spies of Jesus (Joshua). From being a harlot she becomes a prophet, for she says, I know that the Lord hath given this land to you. You see how she that was once a harlot, sinful and unclean, is now filled with the Holy Spirit, and at one and the same time is both witness to the past, believes in the present events, and prophesies concerning the future. Thus Rahab, which means breadth, *dilatio*, increases and goes forth, until her name extends over the whole limits of the earth" (840C). With Rahab as a prophetess we are once more in the line of tradition, but here it is derived from Clement. Origen appears to bring all the earlier tradition together. We come to the main episode: "Let us see how this wise harlot acts with the spies. She gives them mysterious and heavenly counsel, having nothing of the mundane in it: Go ye up to the mountains; that is to say, do not pass through the valleys, flee from base things, proclaim what is lofty and elevated. She puts on her house a scarlet thread, which will save her from the ruin of the city. She did not take any other sign but the scarlet one, which has the appearance of blood. For she knew that there was no salvation for man, save in the blood of Christ." We meet again the tradition of St Clement, St Justin and St Irenaeus, to which Origen adds his personal interpretation of the journey over the mountains.

Then we come to the new interpretation of the house of Rahab, which also recalls the Passover: "She who was formerly a harlot receives this injunction: All who shall be found in thy house shall be saved . . . if anyone wishes to

be saved, let him come into the house of her that was a harlot. Even if anyone of this people (the Jewish) wishes to be saved, let him come into this house to obtain salvation. Let him come into this house in which the blood of Christ is the sign of redemption. Let there be no mistake, let no one deceive himself: outside this house, that is outside the Church, there is no salvation. If anyone does go forth, he is the cause of his own death" (841C-842A). Origen connects Rahab's window with the Incarnation and concludes: "It is through this sign that those who were in the house of her who had been a harlot obtained salvation, being purified by water and the Holy Spirit and in the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." This is the first passage in which the famous words —"outside the Church there is no salvation"—occur. Rahab and her house appear as an important type of the Church, and find a place side by side with the Ark of Noah and the House of the First-Born. Like these, it is a symbol of the Church "in which those who dwell in it shall escape the judgement to come when our Lord Jesus shall conquer and overthrow Jericho [type of this world] at the sound of the trumpets, so that only the harlot and those in the house with her shall be spared" (VI, 4). Here Origen is a witness of the most authentic typology of the Church.[1]

Later on, Origen resumes and completes this theology of Rahab as a type of the Church of the Gentiles. He takes up the words: They dwell in the midst of Israel until this day. The expression, Origen says, cannot apply to the historical Rahab. It must then be a prophecy: "If you wish to understand more clearly how Rahab was incorporated into Israel, see how the branch of the wild olive is grafted onto the trunk of the good olive tree, and you will understand how those who are grafted into the faith of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are rightly said to be incorporated into Israel until this day. We, branches of the wild olive tree, who were prostitutes adoring wood and stone instead of the true God,

[1] See also *Hom. Lev.*, VIII, 10.

we have been truly incorporated into this root until this day" (VII, 5; 860C). Origen bases this argument on Romans 11. He also connects the incident of Rahab with idolatry, as a form of prostitution, as was commonly done by the Prophets. The typological theme of Rahab is thus built up upon purely biblical data. Through the sure biblical inspiration which has inspired it we have one of the most outstanding pages of Patristic typology. Origen is without any question the inheritor of the thought of the Bible. It is possible to hold also that the drama of Osee is not unconnected with Rahab, in the purely literal sense, and that it is an early haggadah. So from Rahab to the harlot of Osee, from this latter to Mary Magdalene, whose name is known to the ends of the earth, from Mary Magdalene to the Church of the Nations, the typological chain links up the legal, the prophetic, the Gospel, the Church, the eschatological, in the one theme of the Redemption.[1]

Lastly, Origen gives a moral interpretation, which is the application to the individual of what is true first of all of the Church.

> Our Jesus (Joshua) sent his spies to the King of Jericho and they are welcomed by a harlot. But this harlot who received the spies sent by Jesus did so that she might no longer be a harlot. The soul of every one of us was that harlot when we lived in the desires and lusts of the flesh. But it received the messengers of Jesus, the Angels, whom he has sent before his face to prepare his ways. Every soul who receives them with faith, lodges them not in unworthy and inferior places, but in those which are more elevated: because we do not receive Jesus from low and earthly places, but as coming forth from the Father and descending from heaven (I, 4; 829C).

Origen begins with this interpretation. But in reality it is here that it finds its place. It is the individual application of the general theme of Rahab, the Church of those who are saved. The allegorical element came in with the interpretation of the different stories of the house. Basically, this exegesis legitimately continues the typology of the Church: the microcosm of each soul reproduces the macrocosm of the Church. In this way the sequence of ideas in the episode is assured.

[1] See *Com. Math.*, XII, 4; P.G. XIII, 985A.

Origen, then, is an important milestone in the elaboration of the theme of Rahab. Yet, after Origen, it is the Western tradition which, following St Clement, St Justin and St Irenaeus, will fasten on to this theme and make of it one of its chief scriptural topics.[1] The first to quote it is St Cyprian, with whom the theme of the house of Rahab, in which it is essential for salvation to abide, holds an important place. This point, which is not primitive, but was brought in by Origen, though it was entirely in the spirit of the Bible, is exceptionally important for St Cyprian, since it is the type for the thesis which is especially his own, the unity of the Church. We find it in the *De Unitate Ecclesiae*: "Do you think that you can carry on and live, if you withdraw from the Church, and build for yourself other dwelling places of your own, when it was said to Rahab, who is a type of the Church: Whosoever shall go out of the door of thy house, his blood be upon his own head" (*De Un. Eccl.* 8). Cyprian links up this point with that of the Paschal lamb which had to be eaten in one house. "It is in the house of God, in the Church of Christ that they dwell in unity and persevere in harmony and simplicity." These last words take us back to the Cenacle, to the primitive community, when the Church was literally only one house, where all were united in this Upper Room in harmony and simplicity.[2] The theme of Rahab holds, then, an important place in St Cyprian, and henceforth in the theology of the *Ecclesia una*. But from the point of view of typology it holds a much more consider-

[1] But it is also found in the East. We find in Theodoret: "Our own history is prefigured in Rahab. For the Lord has said: There are other sheep who are not of this fold" (*Quaest. Jos.* 6).

[2] See also *Epist.* 69:4 (C.S.E.L., II, 753): "By the mystery of Rahab it is stated that those who are to live and escape the ruin of the world must gather together in one house, that is, in the Church."

able place in St Hilary. In the *Tractatus Mysteriorum* which is a sort of conspectus of typology, there are two parts. The first is devoted to the typology of the Patriarchs and we have often mentioned it. The second part is entirely devoted to the harlot of Osee and to Rahab. We shall not be surprised at this junction for we have met it already in St Irenaeus and Origen. It is a traditional typological theme. But St Hilary emphasizes that the main theme is that of Rahab: "The chief reason which made us recall this text (Osee) was, (as we were to speak of Rahab), to show how she prefigures the Church, and to establish securely this comparison of the Church and the harlot by showing that the harlot as a type of the Church, joined to the Prophet, has been taken by God to wed in eternal hope Faith, Justice and Knowledge" (*Tract. Mys.* II, 5; Brisson, p. 148). The story of Osee—whose symbolical purpose is obvious—is brought in here to prove that the episode of Rahab is also prophetic. As we remarked above, it forms a sort of early commentary on the episode of Rahab and expresses something of its typological significance.

St Hilary puts this episode right into the heart of the typology of Joshua. And he begins by giving us the main outlines of this typology: "There is a prophetic meaning in the fact that all the events were over by the time of Jesus (=Joshua). In the very name of Jesus, the type of the future mission (*futuri sacramenti ratio*) of the Saviour is clearly shown. It was after Moses had been told to order everything according to the pattern of the heavenly vision that Moses gave the name to him who was to be the leader. the name which was already prepared in the designs of Providence for the eternal Head." The name of Joshua was the type of the name of Jesus. And it is the same with his work: "As one was the head of the Synagogue, so is the other Head of the Church. As one was the leader to the Promised Land, so the other is the leader to the land which we shall possess as an inheritance. As one came after Moses,

so the other came after the Law. As one received the command to renew circumcision with a knife of stone, so the Lord, who is the Word piercing to the very division of the soul, and the Corner Stone, will begin the spiritual circumcision of the heart" (6; 150-152). We shall come back to the various qualities in which St Hilary is the heir of typological tradition.

Then Hilary comes to his subject, Rahab. He first summarizes the narrative of the Book of Joshua. Then he comments:

> This episode is a series of important types (*sacramenta*) of future spiritual events. The harlot takes into her house the two spies sent by Jesus (Joshua) to survey the land: the Church which was a sinner receives the Law and the Prophets, sent to spy out the faith of men, and acknowledges that "God is in heaven above and on the earth beneath". She receives from these same spies the scarlet sign of salvation, a colour which is manifestly the colour of royalty when considered as a dignity, and, when looked at, the colour of blood; both these features were found in the Passion: the Lord was clothed in scarlet, and blood flowed from his side. Manasses also received scarlet as a sign. The dwellings in Egypt marked with blood were spared and with blood the book of the Covenant was sprinkled and the people sanctified. Every member of the family found outside the house was guilty—a lesson that those outside the Church are responsible for their own death (II, 9; 154-156).

With a few variations we find here the typology as developed traditionally. The two *exploratores* are neither the divine Persons nor the Angels, but the Law and the Prophets. Even more important is the sign of blood. As in St Justin, so also here, it is connected with the sign on the door-posts of the first-born of the Jews. The allusion to Manasses is a confusion with the blessing of Judah, as J. P. Brisson points out (p. 155, note 3). And the paragraph on the Church shows a dependence on Origen and St Cyprian.

St Hilary then gives an eschatological development to this typology. The Church alone will escape in this catastrophe which will change the face of this earth: "During six days they will walk round Jericho, which is a type of this world, and on the seventh day it will fall down at the sound of the trumpet and Jesus (Joshua) will spare the whole house of Rahab. The six days represent an epoch of six thousand years, during which men will wander at will over the earth: in the seventh age the earth will be destroyed at the sound of the trumpet, the Church alone being saved, because she received the spies, and has acknowledged God in the flesh, through the scarlet sign which Jesus gave her" (II, 10; 157). St Hilary depends here upon Origen, who was in his turn a representative of earlier tradition. We must further note that what Origen had viewed from a quite general angle is considered by St Hilary from a millennarian point of view. In this passage St Hilary brings together all that is best in earlier tradition and shows its importance in the West.

We have a final witness to its importance in the *Tractatus* of St Gregory of Elvira, in which we shall see the same theme, enriched by Origen and St Hilary, acquire still further nuances and clarify certain aspects: for here we have the special case of a subject which is not developed by adding miscellaneous symbolisms of non-biblical origin, but along the lines of the spirit of the Bible and the tradition of the Church. On the one hand Rahab is connected with the basic theme of the Song of Songs which expresses the underlying idea of the Covenant—the unchanging fidelity of the divine love; also the connection with the episodes in the Gospel of the Samaritan woman and Mary Magdalene emphasizes by contrast the St Matthew aspect of the typology.[1] After she has inspired Origen and St Hilary with some of their most beautiful writings, Rahab draws

[1] St Cyril of Jerusalem also has the "St Matthew approach", as he connects Rahab with the harlots of Mt. 21.31. Also St Augustine (*Contra Faust.* XII, 32). St Jerome mentions at the same time this passage, Mary Magdalene and the Church of the Nations (P.L. XXV, 817).

from St Gregory the most beautiful of his *Tractatus*. Like Hilary he first of all mentions the typology of Joshua: "Auses, the son of Nave, who deserved to lose his name and find it changed to Jesus, so that the army should have a new leader, taking that office in the name of the Lord; and this was done when he led the people of the children of Israel into the Promised Land, so that the people should seem to be led not by the Law of Moses but by the Saviour whose name Jesus had received—this Jesus, who is a type of Christ, gives evidence of many works of power" (XII; Batiffol, p. 128).

With true fidelity to tradition Gregory retains out of the cycle of Joshua the single episode of Rahab. He summarizes the narrative and continues: "Pay great attention to the purpose of this mystery (*sacramentum*). There is a prophetic reason in this reception of the spies of Joshua by a harlot. We meet this harlot in many places of Scripture, not merely as a hostess, but as the bride of holy men." Gregory mentions Osee, then the Samaritan woman and Mary Magdalene. The typological link is forged. "Of whom then, is this harlot the type? Though Rahab was a harlot, yet, as a prophetess, she enshrined the mysteries of a Virgin Church and the shadow of things to come until the end of time." Here again is the theme of Clement and Origen. "While all others perished, she alone was protected and kept unto life." Here we have the central theological theme which will soon suggest to Gregory the Noah theme. He mentions (as Origen did) that in the Old Testament fornication signifies idolatry. "Just as the Church made up of many nations is called a harlot, so, as a type of the Church, we see Rahab welcoming the Saints. The fall of Jericho prefigures those last days when the destruction of this world will be brought about and the seven plagues through the seven trumpets or the seven angelic vials will strike the human race together with Antichrist. Then no one will be saved except those shut up in Rahab's house, that is the Church."

And it is Baptism which changes the human race, prostituted to the worship of idols and marked for destruction, into a Virgin Church, the Bride of Christ. "This is indeed a great mercy, that she that before was a harlot, should be washed in holy Baptism, and so, purified from all stains, become a Virgin, according to the word of Christ to the Jews: The harlots shall go before you into the Kingdom of heaven." Our Lord's words here, embracing the heathen, have a typological value.[1]

After he has explained that the two spies are the Law and the Gospel, Gregory comes back to the parallel figures of Rahab and finds in Mary Magdalene a symbol of the peoples who have been redeemed. Applying to her the verses of the Song of Songs, he dwells on her desire, after she had wiped the Lord's feet through her penitence, for the kiss of his mouth, that is, for his teaching. On the same lines, the harlot of Osee prefigures the repudiation of the lawful wife Israel, and the adoption of her who was regarded as a harlot. This is all strictly within the confines of biblical thought. Gregory then comes to the scarlet sign: "What does this scarlet mean, if not the precious blood of the Lord's Passion?" Gregory recalls that "in the mystery (*sacramentum*) of the Passover, something similar happened, for the destroying angel passed over those dwellings marked with the blood of the lamb which is a type of Christ" (p. 135). Gregory links up this blood with that which reddened the lips of the spouse in the Canticle (4:3). Then he comes back to the eschatological significance of the episode: "This scarlet thread hung from the window is the light of the Spirit [as in Origen] so that in the day of devastation when this world must perish the house and family of those who have believed in the Lord's Passion may be saved." This was the early theme of Rahab's faith, which in the Epistle to the Hebrews always underlies the episode. He ends by bringing together the whole of the previous typology:

[1] The same idea occurs in St Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* III, 23; C.S.E.L. XXXII, 115.

> Rahab, who is a type of the Church, suspended the scarlet thread from her window as a sign of salvation, to show that the nations would be saved through the Lord's Passion. Just as the house of Rahab and all those with her were saved through the scarlet sign when Jericho was destroyed and burnt and its king, a type of the devil, slain, so when this world is destroyed by fire and the devil who now has dominion over the world is overthrown, no one will be preserved for eternal salvation if is he not found inside the house of the Church which is marked with the scarlet sign, that is, with the blood of Christ; or again as in the Flood, no one escaped the drowning of the world save those who were preserved in the Ark of Noah, which is a type of the Church (139).

This last comparison rounds off the episode of Rahab. We can now see the importance of the whole theme. Together with the Flood and the Passover it forms one of the three great mysteries which enshrine the biblical theology of the Redemption. These three *sacramenta* show the same main idea, which is that of sinful humanity which must be judged, and only those will escape who are marked with the seal of Christ. Each episode underlines a certain feature of the main theme: the Flood, the universality of Punishment; the Passover, the death of Christ, the sacrificed lamb; Rahab, that the salvation offered to sinners and idolaters is a wholly free gift.[1]

We can now bring together the principal features on which the typology of Rahab has been built up. The special character of the theme seems to be that it is the meeting place of some of the most important themes of biblical theology. We have first the theme of the sinful woman preserved through her faith from the universal destruction,

[1] St Jerome brings these three themes together: *Epist.* XXII, 38; P.L. XXII. 422. "All that is done in the Church has a purpose: whether we celebrate the Passover in a single dwelling; whether we go into the Ark with Noah; whether, as Jericho is destroyed, we are welcomed by the righteous harlot Rahab."

and this is the great theme of the free redemption which is revealed in the Flood and the Passover; then the scarlet cord is a σημεῖον which the Fathers interpret as a memorial of the Paschal lamb, and in which we see the blood of Christ, with which we must be marked to avoid the catastrophe; the fall of Jericho is a type of the eschatological judgement and the end of this world, and of these the Flood is also the type: Rahab the sinful woman proclaims the theme which will now run through the whole Bible, of the unfaithful woman who will be saved by God's fidelity; this theme we shall find later in Osee and Ezekiel, though it is only in the Gospel that the final types will be found, closely united in the fundamental idea of the Covenant; and then, the last theological theme, that of the unity of the Church which is reflected here in the unity of the Ark and the house of the Passover, bringing once again the episode of Rahab into the series of the Flood and the Passover.

III

THE CROSSING OF THE JORDAN A TYPE OF BAPTISM

In an article in his *Antike und Christentum, Die Durchzug durch den Jordan als Sinnbild der Christlichen Taufe* (II, 1930, pp. 70-79), F. J. Dölger has shown the crossing of the Jordan by Joshua as a type of Baptism, parallel in this way with the crossing of the Red Sea. Since then Per Lundberg has taken up the same idea (*La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église*, 1942, p. 146), and also by E. J. Duncan (*Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates, the Persian sage*, p. 56). There is a danger that when the idea is put in this way it may lead to error. It does not entirely correspond to what we see in the primitive typology. In passing, we may say that we have not mentioned that the crossing of the Jordan was considered as a type of Baptism in the exegesis of the Joshua cycle. Until Origen it was the crossing of the Red Sea, and that alone, which was thought of as a type of Baptism.[1] But over and above the Joshua cycle there was a typology of the Jordan—not the crossing of the Jordan, but washing in the Jordan, which is important. It links up with Christ's Baptism in the Jordan, which was typified by Naaman's sevenfold washing in the river and the axe of Elisha floating on top of its waters, and in its turn it is a type of Christian Baptism. There is then a whole symbolism of the Jordan outside the cycle of Joshua.

It was only to be expected that this baptismal symbolism of the Jordan should be applied to the crossing of the river

[1] See however St Justin (*Dial.* LXXXVI, 5), who speaks of Joshua's crossing of the Jordan in a baptismal context.

by Joshua. This could be suggested by the comparison of the Promised Land with the Kingdom of God (Barnabas, VI, 13). We also find the passage of the Jordan in the Gnosis. But it must be admitted, as Lundberg has noticed, that "it is in Origen that we find the crossing of the Jordan expressly considered as a type of Baptism" (*loc. cit.*, p. 147). The main difficulty is that, in the Exodus cycle in which Joshua had his place, baptismal typology had already been reserved to the crossing of the Red Sea. We shall see to what a strange idea this led Origen. So that Baptism should not seem to be repeated in the course of the soul's journey from Egypt to Canaan, he is led to see in the crossing of the Red Sea only the entry into the catechumenate and to find in the crossing of the Jordan the type of Baptism. But this was too much against accepted tradition to last. After him St Cyril of Jerusalem and Aphraates will distinguish two types of Baptism: the crossing of the Red Sea and the crossing of the Jordan. It is here that Dölger's view becomes tenable, though not in accord with earlier typology.

Origen tackles the question in his *Commentary on St John*:

> As we are now, as our subject requires, bringing together all that relates to the Jordan, let us look at the "river". God, by his intermediary Moses, carried the people through the Red Sea, and by Joshua through the Jordan. When Paul read this passage (and his warfare is not according to the flesh, for he knew that the Law is spiritual), he taught us to interpret spiritually the passage of the Red Sea, for he says in his First Epistle to the Corinthians: "I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea. And all in Moses were baptized, in the cloud and in the sea". In the spirit of this passage let us also pray that we may receive from God power to understand the spiritual meaning of Joshua's passage through the Jordan. Of it, also, Paul might have written: "I would not have you ignorant, that all our fathers went through the Jordan, and were baptized into Jesus in the spirit and in the river." And Joshua who succeeded Moses was a type of Jesus Christ, who brings about the substitution of the preaching of the Gospel for dispensation through the law. And even if those Paul speaks of were baptized in the cloud and in the sea, there is something harsh and bitter in their baptism. They are still in the fear of their enemies, crying out to the Lord and to Moses. But the baptism in Joshua which takes place in sweet and drinkable water is in many ways superior to the earlier one (*Com. Jo.*, VI, 43-44; Preuschen, 153, 1-20).

The typical method of interpretation makes this text particularly interesting. Beginning from the scriptural and traditional data of typology he develops it in its proper sense. Yet, it is obvious that he is conscious of being an innovator. He starts from the text of St Paul in the Epistle to the Corinthians, on the crossing of the Red Sea, as a type of Baptism, and he applies this argument of St Paul to the crossing of the Jordan. He bases this on the equally traditional idea that Joshua is a type of Christ. Let us take notice of the import of the comparison. The crossing of the Red Sea is for him a type of the dispensation of the Law, which is bitter and harsh, because it is based on fear, while the crossing of the Jordan is the type of true Baptism in the spirit and water. The foundation of this comparison, then, is the contrast which we have met in St Justin, of Moses with Joshua, as types respectively of the Old Testament and the Gospel. This contrast, which for Origen is fundamental, dominates his whole interpretation of Joshua, and in particular explains his exegesis of the Red Sea and of the Jordan.

Origen develops this contrast in the following passage:

> The baptism of Joshua is in many ways superior to that earlier one, religion having by this time grown clearer and assumed a becoming order. For the ark of the covenant of

the Lord our God is carried in procession by the priests and levites, and the people also accepting the law of holiness follow the ministers of God. For Joshua says to the people: "Sanctify yourselves again tomorrow, the Lord will do wonders among you". And he commands the priests to go before the people with the ark of the covenant, wherein is plainly shown the Father's relation with the Son, which is highly exalted by him who gave the Son this grace—that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth and under the earth. This is signified by what is written in the book called Joshua: "In that day I will begin to exalt thee before the children of Israel." And we hear Our Lord Jesus saying to the children of Israel: "Come hither and hear the words of the Lord your God. Hereby ye shall know that the living God is among us." (VI, 44; 154, 1-10).

We must keep in mind the new features which Origen adds in this difficult passage to the typology of Joshua, whose exaltation is a type of that of Jesus; and also the statement that the arrangements for the crossing of the Jordan are a type of the economy of the true religion; all this is based on the theme of Baptism unto Jesus. The comparison with the exodus from Egypt is repeated as follows:

In the former case, they kept the passover in Egypt and then began their journey, but with Joshua, after crossing the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month they pitched their camp in Galgala; for a sheep had to be procured for the banquet after the baptism of Joshua. Then the children of Israel, since the children of those who came out of Egypt had not received circumcision, were circumcised by Joshua with a very sharp stone; the Lord declares that He takes away the reproach of Egypt on the day of Joshua's baptism. Then the children of Israel kept the Passover on the fourteenth day of the month, with much greater gladness than in Egypt, for they ate unleavened bread of the corn of the Holy Land, and fresh food better than manna. For when they received the land of promise God did not entertain them with scantier food, nor when such a one as Joshua was their leader did they get inferior bread. That will be plain to anyone who thinks of the true Holy Land and of the Jerusalem above. "Hence it is written in the same Gospel: Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness and are dead: if anyone eateth of this bread he shall live for ever. For the manna, though it was given by God, yet was bread of travel (προκοπή), bread supplied to those still under discipline, well fitted for those under tutors and governors. But the bread Joshua managed to get from corn cut in the country, in the land of promise, others having laboured and his disciples reaping—that bread was more full of life, distributed as it was to those who, for their perfection, were able to receive the inheritance of their fathers (VI, 45; 154, 12-155, 8).

In the whole of this passage Origen continues the parallel between the exodus from Egypt and the entry into the Promised Land. He notes that the succession Baptism-Eucharist is more definite in the second episode, wherein the eating of the Paschal lamb follows the passage of the river. He recalls the circumcision with stone knives, which St Justin had noted. But even more interesting is the contrast between the manna and the unleavened bread of the Promised Land. Equally the Red Sea is of lesser import. Manna is not a type of the Eucharist. It is the bread for the imperfect, those still going forward and needing instructors. And we know that for Origen all these expressions are the mark of the Old Testament. The bread of the Promised Land is the type of the Eucharist and the true food for those who are perfected. Here we have the contrast between the two covenants typified by the two foods, parallel to the contrast of the two baptisms. But the old covenant is not a type of the new: the Old Testament teaches the contrast of the two covenants, a theme beloved of primitive typology.

Origen proceeds to confirm the baptismal interpretation of the crossing of the Jordan by linking it up with other

types in which the crossing of the Jordan appeared to the tradition of the Church as a type of Baptism. It is a confirmation of his thesis. He began by showing that this tradition occurs in the extension of the Pauline exegesis of the Exodus. Now he lays down that it is also in the extension of the mystagogical exegesis of the Jordan. So it is at the cross-roads of two traditional interpretations. The first example is from the II Book of Kings (2 : 1-8). It is the story of Elias crossing the Jordan before being taken up to heaven: "Another point which we must not fail to notice is that when Elias was about to be taken up in a whirlwind, as if to heaven, he took his mantle and rolled it up and smote the water, which was divided this way and that, and they went over both of them, that is he and Elisha. His Baptism in the Jordan made him fitter to be taken up, for, as we showed before, Paul gives the name of Baptism to so remarkable a passage through the water" (VI, 46; 155, 9-15). If we examine closely the traditional typology of Baptism, Elias appeared in connection with another episode, that of Carmel and the fire from heaven (XVIII, 21-41) (See Lundberg, *Typologie baptismale*, pp. 29-63), Eliseus with the axe floating on the waters (Justin, *Dial.* LXXXVI, 5; Lundberg, p. 185). Elias's crossing of the Jordan does not appear in a text of Clement in *Eclogae Propheticae*: "Has not Baptism, which is the sign of regeneration, been drawn forth through the word of the Lord from matter? This material river two Prophets have crossed over and opened by the power of the Lord" (*Ec. Proph.* 5-6; Staehlin, p. 138). The two Prophets would appear to be Moses and Joshua. Origen is citing an earlier tradition. Yet the context of Clement's work leans towards gnosticism.

Origen's second example is that of Naaman the Syrian washing seven times in the Jordan at the bidding of Elisha. Here we have a traditional theme of early baptismal catechetical courses (Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 9; Didymus of Alexandria, *De Trinitate*, II, 14; P.G. XXXIX, 700D; St

Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, I, 5; XVI, 421). Origen is quite in the catechetical tradition. He can speak "of the great mystery of the Jordan" (156, 9), and writes: "For as there is none good but one, God the Father, so among rivers none is good but the Jordan, nor one able to cleanse from his leprosy him who with faith washes his soul in Jesus" (156, 23-24). We may notice the connection which Origen establishes between the washing of Naaman and the episode of Joshua. He proves his point by bringing them together. He has still to show the typological use of the Jordan in various ways. Origen makes the point from a passage of Ezekiel which speaks of "the great dragon that lies in the midst of the rivers" (Ez. 29 : 3).

> For what bodily dragon has ever been reported as having been seen in the material river of Egypt? But as God is in the river of Egypt, so is God in the river which makes glad the city of God; for the Father is in the Son. Hence those who come to wash themselves in him put away the reproach of Egypt and become more fit to be restored. They are cleansed from that foul leprosy, receive a double portion of spiritual gifts, and are made ready to receive the Holy Spirit, since the spiritual dove does not light on any other stream. Thus we have considered, in a way more worthy of the subject, Jordan, the purification that is in it, Jesus being washed in it, and the house of preparation. Let us, then, draw from the river as much help as we require (VI, 48).

Origen gathers together in this passage all the types he has mentioned. The Jordan at one and the same time takes away the shame of Egypt (Joshua), prepares for an ascension (Elias), purifies the leper (Naaman) and makes ready to receive the dove (the Baptism of Jesus). And the river is all these things because it is the symbol and sign of Christ himself, that river which gladdens the city of God.

This last point is explained in a text which occurs a little earlier in the *Commentary on St John*, yet which has its

place here. Origen explains that the Jordan etymologically means "their descent", κατάβασις ἀυτῶν. We frequently find this etymology (Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* II, 22). Origen says:

> What river can be called "their going down" to which one must come to be purified, a river going down not with its own descent, but "theirs", that, namely, of men, except our Saviour himself who separates those who received their lot from Moses from those who obtained their own portions through Jesus (Joshua). This current flowing in a descending stream makes glad, as we find in the Psalms, the city of God, not the visible Jerusalem—for it has no river beside it—but the spotless Church of God, built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ Jesus our Lord being the chief cornerstone. By the Jordan, then, we have to understand the Word of God who became flesh and tabernacled among us, Jesus who gives us as our inheritance the humanity which he assumed, for that is the meaning of the head cornerstone, which being taken up into the deity of the Son of God, is washed by being so assumed, and then receives into itself the pure and guiltless dove of the Spirit, bound to it and no longer able to fly away from it (VI, 42).

The Jordan which means κατάβασις is the Word of God coming down (καταβαίνων) from heaven, and Joshua, dipped into the Jordan, is human nature cast into divinity by the Incarnation. We are now at the height of the Jordan typology, type of the Word himself.

A whole world of sacramental theology derives from this text. Just as the Jordan of the Old Testament is a type of Christ, typifying the Word who should come down from heaven, so Baptism in its turn is not a type, but an efficacious sign: the baptismal waters represent Christ himself in whom the baptized is washed. And we can understand better the preceding passage: "Those who wash therein are delivered from the shame of Egypt and are able to receive the Holy Spirit." All the Jordan themes converge here; the Baptism

of Christ, the Baptism of Joshua, the Baptism of the Christian, the symbolism of the name of the Jordan. We note the conjunction of the two themes of the Jordan and that of Joshua. The Incarnation of the Word is the dividing line between the two dispensations, that of the Old and the New. We are always led back to the same contrast. Joshua crossing the Jordan, with the dove of the Spirit resting on him, is a type of the humanity of Jesus assumed by the Word and dwelt in by the Holy Spirit: the theme of Joshua and that of Baptism harmonize to form a great theological symbol.

In the *Homilies on Joshua* Origen takes up again the contrast between the crossing of the Red Sea and the Jordan in almost identical terms. The crossing of the Jordan recalls to us Baptism which develops what we saw in the *Commentary*: "When Moses made the people depart from Egypt, the people were without any order (τάξις), and the priesthood without a hierarchy. . . . When the Lord led the army, see what are the things which were already typified. I enter the Jordan not silently as in flight, but with the trumpets sounding to an air at once mysterious and divine, so that I advance at the sounding of the heavenly trumpet" (*Hom. Jos.* I. 3; P.G. XII, 828). But a new element comes in: the crossing of the Red Sea is no longer compared with the Old Testament, but with the entry into the catechumenate. The whole of the Exodus is thus conceived of as a type of the entry into the Christian faith, from the departure from Egypt, symbol of the break with idolatry, to Baptism, typified by the crossing of the Jordan:

> And you who have just abandoned the darkness of idolatry, and wish to give yourself to the hearing of the Divine Law, then it is that you begin first to leave Egypt. When you have been included in the number of the catechumens and begin to obey the precepts of the Church, you have passed over the Red Sea. And if you come to the sacred font of Baptism and if in the presence of the orders of Priests and Levites you are initiated into those venerable and noble

mysteries which are known only by those permitted to know them, then, having passed over the Jordan while the priests are ministering, you shall enter into the land of promise (IV, 1; P.G. XII, 843A).

There is a most attractive symbolism in this whole account. But the general tradition of the Church, which saw in the crossing of the Red Sea the type of Baptism, was too strong to allow this other symbolism which saw in it a symbol either of the Old Testament or of the catechumenate. It is the crossing of the Jordan as the type of Baptism which tradition will retain from Origen. This type is not in opposition to the crossing of the Red Sea, but goes hand in hand with it. We can cite several other examples of this symbolism. St Cyril of Jerusalem comes back several times to the baptismal symbolism of Jerusalem. He mentions the episode of Elias in terms surely borrowed from Origen: "Elias is taken up (ἀναλαμβάνεται) into heaven, but not without the concurrence of water: for he begins by crossing the Jordan, then a chariot takes him up to heaven" (III, 5; XXXIII, 433B). In another passage Baptism is shown as a conflict of Christ with the dragon concealed in the Jordan. "The dragon, according to Job, was in the waters, and swallowed the Jordan in his mouth. That is the reason why, in order to break the dragon's head, Jesus went into the waters and bound the strong man, so that we should receive power to walk over dragons and scorpions" (III, 11; XXXIII, 441B). Here Baptism is thought of as a conflict with the demon dwelling in the symbolical habitat of the waters. Lundberg has emphasized this in his book on *Typologie baptismale*.[1]

But of special interest to us is a passage on the typology of Joshua, in which we find the traditional themes to which Baptism will now be added:

Jesus the Son of Nave was a type (τύπος) of him in many things. When he began his government of the people, he

[1] pp. 64-70.

began at the Jordan; whence Christ also, after Baptism, began his Gospel. The Son of Nave appoints the twelve, who were to divide the inheritance; and Jesus sends forth the Twelve Apostles, the heralds of truth into all the world. The typical Jesus saved Rahab the harlot who believed: and the true Jesus says, "Behold the publicans and harlots go into the Kingdom of heaven before you". With only a shout the walls of Jericho fell down before the type; and because of Jesus's word, "there shall not be left one stone upon another, the temple opposite us is in ruins" (X, 11; XXXIII, 676 D-677A).

Here we have a typology of the "St Matthew" type, in which the characters announce events in the life of Christ. The same quotation in connection with Rahab occurs as in St Irenaeus. The comparison with the Jordan leads us to Origen. It is to be noted that the fall of Jericho is here interpreted of the historical fall of Jerusalem, a historical symbol of the end of Judaism.

There is another interesting example in the *De Baptismo* of St Gregory of Nyssa.

Too long have you rolled in the mire: hasten—not at the voice of John, but of Christ—to my Jerusalem. For indeed the river of grace flows everywhere. It does not rise in Palestine to disappear in some nearby sea: it spreads over the whole earth and flows into Paradise, flowing in the opposite direction to those four rivers which come from Paradise, and bringing in things far more precious than those which come forth. Those rivers carry perfumes, the fruit of the culture and germination of the earth: this river brings in men, begotten of the Holy Spirit. . . . Imitate Jesus, the son of Nave. Bear the Gospel, as he bore the ark. Leave behind the desert, that is, sin: cross the Jordan, and hasten to the life according to the commands of Christ; hasten to that land which brings forth fruits of joy, where flow, as was promised, milk and honey. Overturn Jericho, your former way of life, and do not let it be built up again.

> All these things are types for us, all prefigure truths which are now revealed (P.G., XLVI, 420 D-421A).

This passage is quite conclusive for our purpose. It occurs in a tractate on Baptism, when the crossing of the Jordan by Joshua appears as its τύπος: the ark is the type of the Gospel, as it was for Origen: the desert represents sin: the Jordan typifies Baptism: finally the fall of Jericho represents the destruction of sinful man, according to an idea we shall find again in Origen.

But there is another interesting point in St Gregory of Nyssa. The Jordan is shown in a new light. It is no longer thought of as the river which flows into the Dead Sea, but as a mythical river, which encircles the whole world and is contrasted with the mythical rivers of Paradise. We are brought up against the junction of the idea of the Jordan as the source of Baptism, and the Hellenic idea of the river Oceanos which "surrounds" the world and carries souls into another world.[1] Dölger has noticed this (*loc. cit.*, p. 75), and connects it with the idea found in all Christian liturgies that all baptismal water is the Jordan. Lundberg in his turn has shown[2] that the idea of a cosmic Jordan, as the frontier between the world of the senses and the spiritual world, had been developed at an early date in the Gnosis (Hippolytus, *Elenchos*, V, 7; Wendland, III, 88), and that from there it undoubtedly passes into Mandaeism. This is not the place to discuss the theories of Lidbarski and Reitzenstein, according to whom it was from Mandaeism that the Christian conception of the Jordan was derived. Its development can be considered as follows: the sacramental idea of the Jordan in early Christianity, the development in both orthodox and unorthodox Gnosis of the idea of the cosmic Jordan in conjunction with the rivers of Paradise, and the influence of

[1] The origins of this idea are remote. See the connection of the Jordan and the rivers of Paradise in Ecclus. 24:35.
[2] *Typologie baptismale*, pp. 151-155.

these notions on the baptismal typology of the Jordan in the fourth century.

But what relation has the Joshua episode with these ideas? The passage from St Gregory of Nyssa shows that there is a connection. Is there any earlier evidence? St Hippolytus affords us evidence on the preaching of the Naassenes, where we read these words: "The Ocean is the birth-place of the gods and of men: ever flowing backwards and forwards, now upwards, now downwards. When the Ocean flows downwards, then are men born; when it flows upwards, then are the gods born. . . . All that is born below is mortal: all that is born above is immortal, for it is begotten spiritual, of water and the spirit. . . . This is said of the great Jordan, whose current, when it flowed downwards, prevented the children of Israel when they left the land of Egypt from entering, was arrested and made by Jesus-Joshua to flow the other way" (*Elenchos*, V, 7; Wendland, III, 88). Before St Gregory of Nyssa, the theme of the "great Jordan", likened to Oceanus, has, then, been linked up with the Joshua episode. But even more, St Gregory speaks of the Jordan as flowing in the reverse direction to the rivers of Paradise, as the source of physical life and as carrying into Paradise men regenerated by the Holy Spirit. We find again the same idea of the two directions of the river, with the difference that the rivers of Paradise are contrasted with the Jordan. Here we have evidence then that there was at an early date considerable speculation on the baptismal significance of Joshua's crossing of the Jordan. We are able now to fill in the background of Origen's typology of the crossing of the Jordan. We saw that it does not belong to the catechetical tradition. This would appear certain from the fact, even after Origen, that in catechetical outlines such as those of Didymus (*De Trinitate*, II, 14; P.G. XXXIX, 693-707), it finds no place. Before Origen, speculation concerned itself with Joshua's crossing of the Jordan, but it must be sought in the Gnosis. We shall find there,

besides, an aspect of Gnostic exegesis which can be stated in connection with the theme of the Ogdoad which is so strikingly related to the theme of the Jordan (while the theme of the Week is connected with the Red Sea), and that is the practice of bringing together all the passages of Scripture which treat verbally of the same subject quite regardless of their context and the traditional typology. In this matter the Gnosis revolutionized exegesis and this influenced Christians in their anti-Gnostic polemic, a result not always felicitous, because it sadly disjointed Old Testament typology. Was Origen directly influenced by these speculations we have mentioned? While his interpretation seems independent, we do see however that his explanation of the Jordan as the Word of God coming down from heaven, while it differs from the Gnostic conception, nevertheless does reveal a certain similarity.

St Gregory of Nyssa's dependence certainly seems much more literal. Lundberg has not mentioned the passage we quoted, which would have signally confirmed his thesis. His own quotation is of interest to our study, however. In his sermon on the *Baptism of Christ*, after giving the crossing of the Red Sea as a type of Baptism, St Gregory goes on: "The Hebrew people did not receive the Promised Land before they crossed the Jordan under Joshua's leadership. And there is certainly a type of the Twelve Apostles, the ministers of Baptism, in the twelve stones which Joshua set up in the river" (*In Bapt. Christi*: P.G. XLVI, 592A). We meet once more the typology of St Cyril of Jerusalem. St Gregory then mentions the episode of Elias pouring water three times on the altar before fire came down upon it from heaven. This episode is one of the early liturgical types of Baptism. The series: the passage of the Red Sea, the crossing of the Jordan, the sacrifice of Elias, the cleansing of Naaman are found in the blessing of the baptismal waters on the day of the Epiphany in the Coptic and Ethiopian liturgies, and it was on that day that St Gregory preached

this sermon (Lundberg, *loc. cit.* pp. 15-17). The episode of Naaman also appears in this sermon.

St Gregory then comes back to the Jordan: "Alone among all rivers, the Jordan received the first-fruits of sanctification and blessing, and has shed the grace of baptism over the whole world, as from a source. And these things are signs of that regeneration which is effected by Baptism" (593A). This is a very striking definition of a type, that it is an act truly accomplished, and signifying (μήνυμα) some future action. St Gregory then alludes to the Jordan in its relation to Paradise: "The Jordan is glorified because it regenerates men and makes them fit for God's Paradise" (593D). This sermon of St Gregory of Nyssa is a witness of a baptismal typology which was the heir of a primitive catechetical tradition, but enriched with further types, the crossing of the Jordan, the marriages of the Patriarchs near the well, borrowed from the traditions of the Didascalia and especially from Origen. A new baptismal typology appears here, and it will remain that of the Oriental liturgies. The Byzantine world has already begun with St Gregory of Nyssa.

IV

THE FALL OF JERICHO AND THE END OF THE WORLD

If Origen gave a sacramental interpretation to the passage of the Red Sea, he will give an eschatological turn to the fall of Jericho. Earlier tradition had suggested the theme to him, but to Origen it owed an enrichment. Jericho is the type of the world, as he explains in the *Sixth Homily*. "Jericho is besieged and it must needs fall. We often find Jericho taken figuratively in the Scriptures. Even in the Gospel, what is said of the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves is doubtless a type (*forma*) of Adam who is fallen from Paradise and exiled in this world. And the blind men of Jericho, whose sight was restored by Jesus, are a type of those who were held captive in the blindness of ignorance for whom the Son of God came into this world. Jericho—that is, the world—will collapse. The end of the world, as we know, is often referred to in the Sacred Books" (VI, 4; 855D-856A). Here Origen is only echoing tradition. His interpretation of the Good Samaritan, as he tells us elsewhere, comes only from the elders: "One of the elders (*presbyteri*), in his interpretation, said that the man who set forth is Adam, Jerusalem is Paradise, Jericho the world, the thieves the invisible powers, the priest the Law, the Levites the Prophets, the Samaritan Christ, the wounds disobedience, the beast of burden the Body of Christ, the inn, which takes in every one, the Church, the Samaritan's promise the second Coming of Christ" (*Hom. Luc.* XXXIV). We shall find the same interpretation in St Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* III, 17, 3). We may

even wonder whether it is not of Apostolic origin and indeed an echo of the very teaching of Christ himself. It should not be forgotten that there is one Parable in the Gospel, that of the Tares (Mt. 13:37-39), which is explained in a similar way to this. Origen has himself remarked elsewhere: "the evangelists have not written down the explanation which Jesus gave of most of the parables" (*Com. Math.*, XIV, 12). However that may be, it can be accepted that we have here an interpretation which is extremely ancient.[1]

The Joshua episode describes to us exactly the fall of Jericho, that is, the end of the world. Origen develops this interpretation in a passage of particular value, because we find the typological approach used in a threefold way, Christological, mystical and eschatological. The three basic aspects of the typical approach are brought together in their due order. And, moreover, they are freed from Origen's constant habit of overlaying the spiritual sense with Philonian allegory and the eschatological sense with a Gnostic anagogism. They simply echo the three traditional and legitimate forms of typology, but grouped by Origen in their proper order, as the three successive points of development in a single typology, which is Christ considered in his historical life, in his mystical Body, and his final Parousia. It is the perspective of the three *Adventus* of Christ, which we shall find again in St Augustine: in the flesh, in our souls, and in glory. Here we have the true structure of typology, the authentic idea of the senses of Scripture, the norm to which we can refer other themes to prove their value. It is further to be noted that not only does the Old Testament as a whole prefigure the New, but equally the coming of Christ in the flesh and in the Church prefigures the final Parousia. This is a theme much beloved of Origen (*De Princ.* IV, 3, 13; *Com. Cant.* III; P.G. XIII, 152-154), and it is derived from the words of Jeremiah: "The breath of our mouth, Christ

[1] It is found again later. See St Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* VII, 73; C.S.E.L. XXXII, 312.

the Lord: under thy shadow we shall live among the Gentiles" (Lam. 4:20).

Let us come to the passage itself:

> Jericho collapses at the sound of the priests' trumpets. We have already noted that Jericho is a type of this world, the strength and defences of which are destroyed by the priests' trumpets. The strength of the ramparts which are the walls of defence of this world is the worship of idols, organized by devils through lying oracles, auguries, soothsayers and images, by which this world was surrounded, as by mighty walls. But Our Lord Jesus Christ, of whose coming Joshua the son of Nave was the type, sends his Apostles and priests, bearing harmonious trumpets, the preaching of his sublime and heavenly doctrine. . . . I am much impressed when I learn that the narrative relates that not only did the priests sound the trumpet to overthrow the walls of Jericho, but the whole people, according to the text, let forth a great shout on hearing the trumpets, or according to other manuscripts, shouted for joy. I think this rejoicing is a mark of concord and harmony. If this unity exists among two or three of Christ's followers, their heavenly Father will grant them all that they ask in the Saviour's name. If the rejoicing is such that the people are all of one heart and mind, then there comes to pass what is written in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that there was a great convulsion of the earth when the Apostles were praying together with the women and Mary the Mother of Jesus: when this convulsion shall take place all earthly things shall collapse and be wiped away and the earth shall be destroyed. Hear the Lord exhorting his soldiers, saying to them: "Have confidence, I have overcome the world." With him as our leader, the world as far as we are concerned is already overthrown and its walls under which the men of this world shelter themselves have collapsed (VII, 1-2; 856D-858C).

Here we have the Christological interpretation. The fall of Jericho is accomplished through Christ's Passion. We meet again the early conception of the redemption. The world meant the idolatry of the heathen. Strictly speaking this idolatry meant the worship of devils, to whose despotism the human race had succumbed: here we have the realistic approach to original sin. Christ, through his death, went to the lower regions where the devil held sway, and broke this power by his Resurrection, both for himself and for the human race which is one with him. Here we have the focal point on which in early Christianity converge the theology of the redemption, the liturgy of Baptism—considered as a breaking off from the demons—and the spirituality of temptation. Origen also connects the fall of Jericho to that event which accomplished the redemption—Pentecost. The trembling of the earth at that event symbolized the overthrow of the idols, typical of the final victory over Death, which is another name for the devil, at the Parousia. A quotation from St Gregory of Nazianzen in the *Theological Discourses* will explain this. Speaking of the progressive revelation of the Trinity, he describes the revelation of the Holy Spirit as the *third* trembling of the earth: the first occurred at Sinai, the revelation of the Father—the second, that of Calvary, was the revelation of the Son (*Theol. Disc.*, V, 25).

Origen then passes on to the mystical interpretation:

> But each one of us must achieve these things in his own self. By faith you have Jesus as leader in you. Make the trumpets resound with the Holy Scriptures, if you are a priest. Draw forth from them the meanings and instruction which merit for them the epithet of "resounding". Sing in them, in psalms and hymns, in prophetical mysteries, in the mysteries of the Law, in the doctrines of the Apostles. If you sound on these trumpets and bear the ark of the covenant seven times round the city, that is, if you do not separate the symbolical (*mystica*) precepts of the Law from the precepts of the Gospel, if you bring forth from yourself a joyful harmony, that is, if the whole population of your thoughts and desires

gives a harmonious sound, give forth a joyous shout, for the world in you is overcome and destroyed (VII, 2; 858 C-D).

Here is the inner aspect of typology. Christ's Passion brings about the overthrow of the world of devils, but it is still required that every individual make this victory personal to himself. Each of us carries within himself the Jericho of his own idols. Under the leadership of Jesus, head of the army, the Jericho within us must be overthrown through the union of holy doctrine, signified by the priests' trumpets, and the practice of charity, signified by the shouts of the people. Origen falls back on certain elements of Philo's allegory, as the *concentus*, as a type of the interior unity of the powers. But the underlying inspiration is entirely biblical. It is the inner aspect of Christ's fulfilment of the type of the fall of Jericho.

Yet this victory of Christ is not completely achieved. This objection comes quite naturally to mind when Christ's victory is affirmed. For how is it that we see the evil spirits wielding so much power? Origen also raised that objection. "The type of what has been accomplished seems true enough, but I am struck with wonder that the devil and his army are in the historical order defeated, yet still appear to wield such power against the servants of God, so that the Apostle Peter exhorts us to use great caution and be on our guard, seeing that "our adversary the devil goeth about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour". This brings us to the very heart of the Christian mystery of history, in the relation between the central event of the Resurrection, the present reign of Christ in the Church, the consummation of this reign at the end of time, and the progressive defeat of the evil powers which is the counterpart of the progressive inauguration of the reign of Christ. The relation, both symbolical and dynamic, of the first to the second Parousia is the key to this mystery.

Origen develops this point:

Let us see whether we can say anything on this matter worthy of the words of the Holy Spirit. The Parousia of Christ has been partly fulfilled through his humiliation, but we hope for another in glory. And this first coming in the flesh is called, in a mysterious (*mysticum*) text in the Scriptures, a shadow: "The breath of our mouth, Christ the Lord: under thy shadow we shall live among the Gentiles." When Gabriel announced the good tidings to Mary, he declared: "The power of the Most High shall overshadow thee." We understand that many things which will be brought to fullness at the Second Coming are only a shadow in the first. The Apostle Paul tells us that Christ "has raised us up together and hath made us sit together in the heavenly places". We who believe, do not yet see ourselves raised or seated in heavenly places: but all this is already outlined (*adumbrata*) by faith, because in mind and hope we are already raised above earthly and material things, and daily raise our hearts to things heavenly and eternal: all this will be accomplished at his Second Coming, in such wise that what we now possess in anticipation by faith and hope, we shall then possess in the fullness of reality. And in the case of the devil, we must understand that he is already overcome and crucified, but only for those who are crucified with Christ, and that both for all believers and for all nations, he will be crucified, when that shall come to pass of which the Apostle speaks, that "as in Adam all are dead, so in Christ shall all be made alive". It is, then, the mystery of the future Resurrection which lies here. Then will the devil be no more, because there will be no more death (VIII, 4; 866 B-867A).

The mystery of Christ is, then, accomplished on three levels: in his own Person, in the souls of men, and in the whole world. The devil, though already vanquished, enjoys a respite, according to the words of Cullmann.[1] The final victory will come when the world, now in a crumbling state, will collapse for ever.

Till now all the themes we have met in Origen belong to

[1] *Christ et le temps*, pp. 136 seq.

an earlier tradition. But he gives a continuous commentary on the Book of Joshua. This leads him to give a spiritual sense to passages which earlier tradition did not so treat. This allowed him to attach a typological meaning to a certain number of passages, but not to consider that all scriptural events had a spiritual sense. With Philo it was otherwise, and in this he influenced Origen, who was thus led to allegorical interpretations of a questionable nature. But his developments are often faithful to tradition, and legitimate amplifications of it. Thus Origen shows that Joshua's renewal of the Covenant and re-reading of the Law is a type of the New Covenant, in a parallel way to the second circumcision. Origen draws another interpretation from this episode which must be mentioned because it illustrates one of the richest and most characteristic features of his teaching on the spiritual sense: Joshua reading the Law is the type of Jesus explaining the Law and the Prophets to his disciples at Emmaus, and it brings home to us that we understand the Law only when Jesus himself explains it and we find him in it: "I think that when Moses is read to us, the veil of the letter is lifted by the grace of the Lord and we begin to understand that the Law is spiritual and that, for instance, when the Law says that Abraham had two sons, one of a bondservant, and one of a free woman, I understand this to mean two nations and two covenants: if we do understand this Law, which Paul calls spiritual, it is because Jesus Christ himself reads it to us and offers it to the ears of all men, telling us not to follow the letter which kills, but the Spirit which makes to live" (IX, 8; 876B).

Origen expresses here his position with regard to the Old Testament quite admirably. It represents a system which is done away with. Yet the Church, unlike the Gnostics, does not reject it; she preserves it, simply because it contains the type of Christ. But the carnal man, the slave of the letter, is incapable by himself of deciphering this type of Christ. Christ himself must grant that spiritual understanding by

bestowing his own spirit. This is the reason why a spiritual exegesis is so closely linked with the ideal of a spiritual perfection. "Jesus it is who reads the Law, when he reveals the secrets of the Law. We, who belong to the Catholic Church, do not reject the Law of Moses, but receive it if and when it is Jesus who reads it to us. For it is only if Jesus reads the Law in such wise that through his reading we grasp its spiritual significance, that we correctly understand the Law. Do not think they have grasped the meaning who could say: 'Was not our heart burning within us when he opened to us the Scriptures, and, beginning at Moses and the Prophets and expounding them all showed that they wrote of him'" (*Hom. Jos.* IX, 8; 866C). By linking Joshua's reading of the Law with Jesus' reading to the disciples of Emmaus, Origen gives us an exegesis of the Matthew type, which is not usual with him, yet which emphasizes the profound continuity of the Old Testament, the Gospel and of the interior Christ who instructs each Christian.

In his interpretation of the episode of Joshua arresting the sun, Origen gives the eschatological interpretation of the fall of Jericho and the "delay" of the Parousia:

> We wish, if possible, to show how our Lord Jesus Christ has prolonged the light and lengthened the day, whether for man's salvation or for the destruction of the powers of evil. When the Saviour had come, then the end of time was already come. He himself had said: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." But he has checked and held back the day of the end, and forbidden it to intervene. For God the Father, seeing that he alone could achieve the salvation of the nations, said to him: "Ask of me, and I will give thee the gentiles for thy inheritance." Until the Father's promise be accomplished, and the Church is built up from all the nations and the fullness of the peoples come in so that Israel will then be saved, until then, the day is prolonged and the sinking of the sun delayed and it does not set; but it is ever risen while the sun of justice sheds its light and truth in the hearts

> of believers. When the full measure of believers is completed, and the corrupt and exhausted time of the final generation has arrived, when, as wickedness increases and charity grows cold and the number of those who believe grows less and less, then the days will be shortened. So it is the same God who can prolong the day, when it is the time of salvation, and shorten it when it is the time of tribulation and destruction. While we have the light of day, we walk honestly and do the works of the light (XI, 33; 884C-885A).

The depth of the theology of history in this passage is remarkable. The fading of the day, the ending of time is postponed first by the necessity of fulfilling the Father's promise to Christ, that the fullness of the nations enter into the Church. This is the mission which is being fulfilled during this present time and which is holding back the end of the day. The present time is a delay permitted by God's love. For, as the text expressly says, with the coming of Christ the end is already upon us. Origen further links up this idea with that of Christ as the Sun. If it is he who stays the sun, it is also he who is the Sun which rises in the hearts of believers and knows no setting. Once again we meet the theme of the *Christus Oriens*. We notice also the double movement of history which Origen emphasizes: in part it is the growth of the Kingdom of Christ, but also that of the powers of evil and the increase of corruption. The advance is thus in two directions, and good and evil grow together. Lastly we note how easily Origen's interpretation, inspired through and through by the Scriptures, links up with the words of Christ. This day, when it is possible to walk (John 12:35) before night comes, links up quite naturally with the story of Joshua. And it may be questioned whether these coincidences are not due to the biblical background of the teaching of Christ.

The delay is not only due to the expansion of the Kingdom of God: it is also occupied with the conflicts against the powers of evil. Origen tells us that potentially Christ

has conquered them once and for all, but each Christian will realize that victory at his Baptism. Yet, even after Baptism, the Christian has to continue to fight against these powers. It is these contests which are typified by the material warfare which fills the Book of Joshua. The Christian must go on fighting even when Jericho is destroyed. Those wars were the type of these spiritual conflicts of which St Paul speaks: "All these nations of vices are in us and attack the soul incessantly. The Chanaanites, Pherezites and Jebusites are all within ourselves. How ought we not to watch and strive that our land should enjoy peace by the destruction of all these nations of vices?" (1, 7; 832A). Every vice has its bad angel: "Anger has its angel, and as long as you have not rooted out every movement of anger and impatience, you cannot inherit the place that angel once occupied. And it is the same with the angels of the other vices. As long as you have not conquered in yourself their vices and have not banished them from off the earth (yourself), already sanctified by the grace of Baptism, you will receive nothing of the promised fulfilment" (1, 6; 831B). Origen has been able to combine the sacramental conception with a profound realization of the importance of asceticism. It is a mark of his thought. But we also see how asceticism—and this includes the moral sense of Scripture—is based on a historical perspective. It consists in fighting our enemies, already potentially overcome. The grace which Christ has already won for us will be its source. The mystical sense is, then, in a very real way a historical sense, which corresponds exactly to the actual state of the Whole Christ.[1]

Thus have Christian writers—and above all Origen—developed the typology of Joshua along the same lines as that of the Flood and the Exodus from Egypt. As we end

[1] For the eschatological signification of the fall of Jericho, see also St Augustine: "He will see the walls of this city fall down on the seventh day, as now in the time symbolized by these seven days, the Testament of God will be extended over the whole earth to the end of the world" (*Contra Faust.* XII, 32). For St Cyril of Jerusalem the fall of Jericho typifies the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem (XXXIII, 676C).

we should note how these three great themes run parallel, and it is one and the same biblical theology which emerges from all this wealth of detail. In all three cases a Divine judgement must strike a sinful world, sinners at the time of the Flood, Egyptians at the Exodus and the inhabitants of Jericho: in all three cases only those who have passed through water and are assembled in a dwelling-place will escape the judgement: in all three cases a man is selected by God to be the instrument of salvation. The three essential components of typology, the sacramental, the eschatological, the Christological are here united. They prefigure that salvation which will be finally secured when sinful humanity, secure in the ark of the Church under the leadership of Jesus Christ, will escape the coming judgement. This is indeed the continuity of the covenant, the Divine steadfastness which is seen as the essential basis of typology.

CONCLUSION

THE various monographs which make up this book do not allow us to follow a definite picture of the history of the origins of typological exegesis. But at least we can draw certain provisional conclusions which will open the way in this vast field:

1. Patristic exegesis is founded on the extension of the Messianic typology of the Old Testament Prophets, which described the future Kingdom as a New Paradise, a new Exodus, a new Flood.

2. The Apostolic preaching had for its main purpose to show that these types had been fulfilled in Jesus Christ. We can suppose that they made collections of *Testimonia* in which these types were collected.

3. The writings of the New Testament show us that this Apostolic typology had developed to that stage in which particular traits become marked. One, exemplified by the Gospel of St Matthew, sees the types fulfilled in the details of the earthly life of Christ—the other, represented by the Gospel of St John, sees these types fulfilled in the Sacraments of the Church.

4. The works of the Fathers of the Church show how these tendencies were continued. The eschatological typology of the Old Testament continues, especially in St Irenaeus and Origen. The sacramental catechetical instructions continue the Johannine approach. A more restricted tradition, appearing at once in Jerusalem and the West, continued the approach of St Matthew.

5. The application of the types of the Old Testament to the interior life of the Christian, scarcely perceptible in St Paul and St Peter, takes on a marked development in the

thought of the Alexandrines from Clement to St Gregory of Nyssa and St Ambrose. The great weakness of Philo's exegesis was to find a symbolical meaning in every detail of Scripture. Further, like the Gnostic exegesis, it sought for correspondences between the world of the senses and the world of the intellect.

7. A second influence was that of Jewish exegesis. This, as we see from St Justin and St Jerome, saw the fulfilment of the types even in the events of the Old Testament. This influence was felt chiefly among the Antiochene writers, and led them to discount over-much the Messianic interpretations.

8. But—and this is the final point to which our investigation has led us—over and above all these diversities and deviations, we meet an agreement of all schools upon the fundamental types. This proves that we are face to face with something which is part and parcel of the deposit of Revelation.

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